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JAMES T. HICKEY

Oglesby's Fence Rail Dealings And the 1860 Decatur Convention

James T. Hickey, curator of the Historical Library's Lincoln Collection, spent several nights and week ends during the past year at Oglehurst, the former home of Governor Richard James Oglesby, at Elkhart, Illinois, arranging the papers of Oglesby and his son John Gillett Oglesby for transfer to the Library. It had been assumed, Hickey says, that most of the Governor's papers were destroyed when the first Oglesby home at Elkhart burned in 1891. Instead, some twenty-five thousand manuscripts are still extant, and these cover much of the adult lives of Governor Oglesby and his son. In going through what was known to the family as the "war chest" — the chest used by Oglesby during the Civil War — Hickey found a small bundle of letters which provided the information for the story he tells here.

RICHARD JAMES OGLESBY, three times governor of Illinois — 1865-1869, 1873 and 1885-1889 — and United States senator, 1873-1879, was practicing law in Decatur in 1860. He had already entered politics and was a candidate for the state senate when Decatur was announced as the site of the Illinois Republican Convention that year.

Most writers have long agreed that Oglesby played an important part in convention affairs and in securing the endorsement of Abraham Lincoln "as the first choice of Illinois for the presidency," but the extent of his work has never been fully known. Some writers have attributed that election's singularly effective campaign symbol — the Lincoln rail — to Oglesby, although others have credited John Hanks with the idea. Hanks was later the more vocal in claiming

the credit, but on the basis of the newly discovered Oglesby Papers it appears that the idea originated with Oglesby as a part of his over-all plan to assure the endorsement of Lincoln at the Republican State Convention.

Though he was only thirty-six in 1860, Oglesby was highly respected in party circles. This fact is shown by letters he received from Judge David Davis, who was to engineer Lincoln's nomination at the National Convention. On February 25 Davis wrote Oglesby:

> You must go to Chicago by Wednesdays train of next week and stay here until after next Election for Mayor. You can immortalize yourself — I have told Wentworth[1] that you are the man to speak at the different meetings! that your sort of speeches would take better than any body else's. . . .
>
> Why if Wentworth is beaten I would not give a fig for our prospects in Illinois —
>
> And if Illinois is lost, the next Presidential election may be lost.

But after a quick exchange of messages Oglesby did not go; apparently he had convinced Davis it was more important for him to remain in Decatur.[2]

On April 15 Davis wrote: "Cant you write letters to the proper persons in Moultrie & Shelby so as to get the counties for Swett.[3] . . . Write also all the Letters you can to different counties. . . . Young men in a party win an election more than men of my age. . . . You won golden opinions here."

1. John Wentworth, editor of the *Chicago Democrat,* and Norman Judd, backed by the *Chicago Press and Tribune,* threatened to split the Republican Party in Illinois over the election for mayor of Chicago. This would affect Lincoln's chances for nomination. See Don E. Fehrenbacher, "The Judd-Wentworth Feud," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLV (Autumn, 1952): 197-211.

2. See Davis to Oglesby, Feb. 29, 1860, Oglesby Papers.

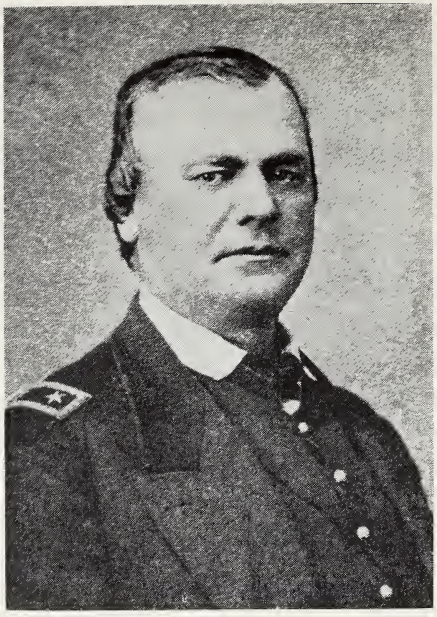
3. Davis and others hoped to get the Republican gubernatorial nomination for Leonard Swett, but Richard Yates of Jacksonville was named at the Decatur convention.

Along with Davis, Jesse W. Fell, Leonard Swett and others, Oglesby expected Lincoln to be endorsed by the convention. But, since he was the only Decatur man in this group of early Lincoln supporters, it was his task to make sure that convention arrangements went as planned. So far as is known, however, he had no official convention or party position, and was not even a delegate.

As Decatur had no hall large enough to accommodate the convention, Oglesby – with the help of V. P. Fobes, a delegate from Macon County – set to raising money to build a temporary structure to house the meeting, which was scheduled to begin on Wednesday, May 9. Oglesby kept a record of their collections, headed "Subscribtion To The Republican Wigwam in Decatur By Verious Citizens May 1860." (See below, pages 19 to 21). Most of the money was contributed by Decatur businessmen, with the largest donations coming from the hotels; Darlington Turnbolt, proprietor of the Revere House, and Willis Oglesby, proprietor of the Oglesby House, each contributed $25. J. W. Sponsler, proprietor of the St. Nicholas Hotel, gave $15, and John Slaughter, of the Central Hotel, $5.00. A total of $253 was raised. Of this amount Oglesby personally collected $213, and Fobes, $40. The money Oglesby collected was deposited in his account at the Decatur bank of Peddecord and Burrows, and the checks he wrote to pay for erecting the wigwam and other convention expenses are in the Oglesby Papers. In addition to the checks he also kept a separate record of expenditures, which he titled "R J Oglesby Cr By Expenses Paid for wigwam."[4]

Dewitt C. Shockley, the leading contractor of Decatur,

4. A bill from Stratton and Hubbard, Decatur merchants, shows that Oglesby's personal expenditures – apparently also in preparation for the convention – included "2 gallons of Bourbon whiskey" at $3.50 a gallon.



Richard J. Oglesby — as he appeared in July, 1863, while serving as a major general in the Union Army.

supervised construction of the wigwam; and two payments to him, of $9.75 and $1.00, were among the expenditures listed on Oglesby's record. Although the wigwam was a large structure which could accommodate 2,500 people, Oglesby exercised the greatest economy in its erection. One wall was formed by an adjacent building, and the top and three side walls were of canvas, which Oglesby is said to have rented from a circus, though no rental payment appears in his list of expenditures. The lumber for the speakers' stand was apparently borrowed from a local lumber dealer; there is no record of lumber purchases, but bills were paid for "hauling Lumber" and "Hauling Lumber back" as well as for cutting and hauling the logs which presumably were used to support the tent. Laborers working on the wigwam received $1.50 a day; the total labor bill cannot be computed, however, since not all the laborers are identified in the record of expenditures.

The largest single convention bill paid by Oglesby was $30 for the Decatur Brass Band. William L. Smith was the

bandleader, but the check for the band's service was paid to Joseph Rickets, who advertised in the Decatur newspapers as being the person to contact for music for parades, excursions and balls. One Dr. Janny received $3.50 for a flag, and twelve boys were paid for services as pages and runners. J. C. Benton, a Decatur alderman, received a payment for ale, and William J. Usrey, editor of the *Illinois State Chronicle* of Decatur, received $15, probably for printing. A payment of $15 was made to Orlando Powers for rent of Powers Hall, which served as headquarters for the Seventh Congressional District, of which Macon County was a part.

Of all the convention expenditures the most interesting were the two connected with the Lincoln rails: "Expenses for getting Two Rails – $2.00" and "For Bugg[y] & Horse to go after John Hanks – $2.00." These rails, of course, were the ones which John Hanks and Isaac Jennings carried into the convention along with a sign proclaiming Lincoln "The Rail Candidate." Since the party had to pay for the rails and provide transportation for Hanks, there can be little doubt that Oglesby conceived the whole plan.

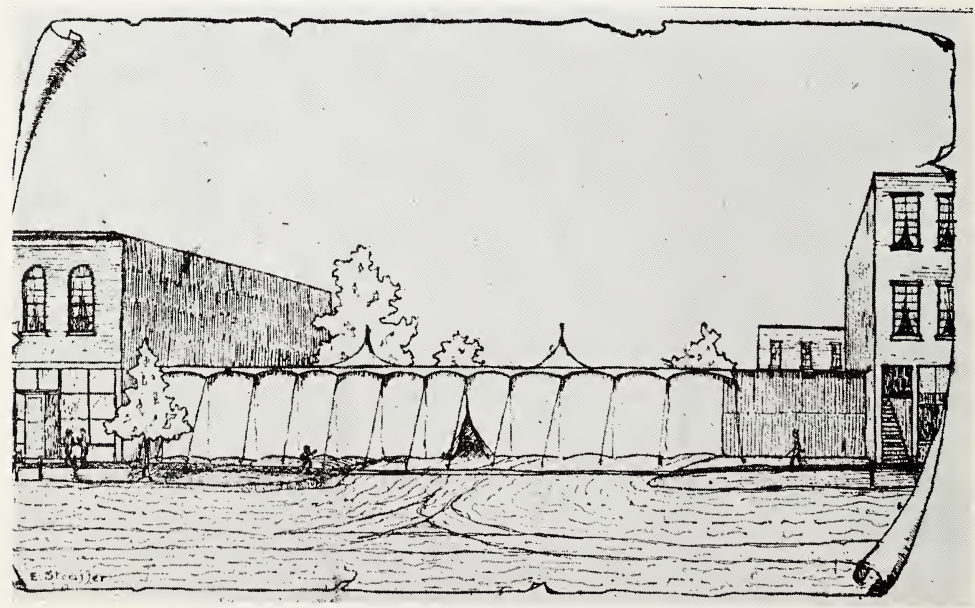
Oglesby paid out altogether $170 for convention expenses. He closed his accounts on May 23, 1860, paying $40 in cash to Isaac C. Pugh, treasurer of the Macon County Republican Central Committee. This left Oglesby still owing the committee $3.00 and V. P. Fobes still owing the $40 he had collected.

By the time Oglesby had settled these accounts, he was already involved in another venture. During his absence at the Republican National Convention in Chicago, the demand for Lincoln rails had spread throughout the nation. He had originally planned to give the rails away but was forced to charge for them, since Hanks had had to buy them from

the owner of the "Lincoln fence." Oglesby therefore began another political business record, which he labeled "Rail acct with John Hanks – John Has recd all the money I have had all the trouble R J Oglesby." (See pages 22 to 24.) Early in May, Hanks had authorized Oglesby to "make my mark to all certiffica[tes of authenticity] of The Lincoln Rails."

Oglesby's first request for rails came from Springfield. William A. Dubois, secretary of the Lincoln Club of Springfield, wrote on May 19, "Dear Sir, I want you if you please to send me one of those rails which Lincoln made for the benefit of the Club at Springfield and oblige."

N. C. Geer, editor of the *Peoria Daily Transcript,* wrote on May 21, "Wm. H. Herndon Esq. of Springfield told me to write to you and you could send me two rails." Oglesby



Drawing of the Decatur Wigwam, from the Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County, 1829-1929.

sent these on May 25 and made no charge. In fact, Oglesby's charge for the rails seems to have been based entirely on his estimate of the purchaser's value to the party.

One purchaser, for example, who was not charged was Moses F. Webb, president of the Bank of New Jersey at New Brunswick and a delegate from New Jersey to the Chicago convention, who claimed he voted for Lincoln. On the back of his June 9, 1860, request for a rail, Oglesby noted, "The R[a]ils one oak & one walnut sent 15th of June by Express to Mr Webb with Letter & Certifficate — no charge made. R.J.O."

Another man who did not pay was John E. Rosette, a Springfield, Illinois, attorney, who wrote Oglesby on May 24 asking him to reserve three rails, one to send to Philadelphia and the others to go to the Sixth and Eighth Congressional Districts in Ohio.

John Hopper, Republican candidate for coroner of Sangamon County and vice-president of the Springfield "Railsplitter Wide Awakes," also wrote Oglesby for rails that " 'Old Abe' manufactured" and asked if it was "possible to get the old Log Cabin and on what terms." James C. Conkling, a Springfield attorney and friend of Lincoln's, added a note to Hopper's letter: "If you can comply with Mr. Hoppers request do so. He will do whatever is required." Oglesby didn't get the cabin, but he did send Hopper ten rails on May 26. Hopper's need for that many rails was revealed when he advertised in the June 1 *Illinois State Journal*: "Photographs of Lincoln framed with Macon Co. rails at Hoppers News Depot Post Office Building."

The extent of the demand for Lincoln rails is shown in the letter of William C. Prescott, of Salem, Massachusetts, whose request for two rails was accompanied by instructions

for packing "so that the nature of the contents may not be discoverable, or we shall never see them here." Oglesby sent him three rails on May 31 but did not get paid until December 20, when Prescott wrote Oglesby a long letter and enclosed $5.00 "for Mr. Hanks." He had this to say of the election:

> It is a most gratifying reflection that at this period of alarm, when so many men are disposed to yield to the outcry of the South against the election of Mr Lincoln we have in him a man possessing all the virtues — and the at present admired qualities of Gen'l Jackson without the foibles that tend to bedim the lustre of his great name.
>
> So much as is possible to yield to Southern wishes as an act of kindness and policy I have no doubt Mr Lincoln will give — but whatever demand is made involving a sacrifice of principle I think as I hope he never will yield, though the Temple of the Confederation be laid in ruins.

Even newspaper offices wanted rails. On May 25 Oglesby sent ten rails to the *Chicago Press and Tribune,* and on June 2 a *Tribune* representative replied, "Enclosed . . . ten (10) dollars please give it to Mr. Hanks. We shall see that those rails do good service before the Campaign closes."

The nature of the service provided by the rails was described by an Ohio man, William M. Green of Dayton:

> DAYTON O JUNE 15TH/60
>
> *Hon R J Oglesby Esqre*
> *Decatur Ill*
> MY DEAR SIR
>
> I hope you will excuse me for my neglect in not sooner acknowledgeing the receipt of the 5 Lincoln Rails togather with your letter and certificate of John Hanks certifying their genuineness. All of which came duly to hand, and for which I sincerely thank you for the kindness. In behalf of yourself and the Republicans of Illinois I presented 2[?] of them to our Republican Wigwam [w]here they have been placed upon the platform as a proud and

standing monument of the fact that the man who mauled those Rails without intrigue by himself or friends has recieved [*sic*] the nomination for the highest honors that can be bestowed upon him by his countrymen, And there is not a doubt in my mind but what he will as thoroughly *maul* the Democracy should he live to see Novs suns as he did the little Giant two years since and as he will again do should his friends dare trot him out

The Reciept [*sic*] of those Rails created quite an excitement here. The Republicans were excited to see them and anxious to get pieces of them. This rail business is looming up with frightful proportion to our Democratic Brethren.

They try to laugh it down but it cannot be *did*. There is a stern reality in the fact which appeals to the hearts and sympathies of the labouring millions that the man who made rails and was a few years since subdueing the wild forest of the great and mighty West, who was hab[i]limented in his linseywo[o]lsey is now the nominee of a mighty party for the highest Office in the world. There is nothing surer but fate that we can and will elect him

Ohio although she was not honored by the choice of her noble and gallant Chase will respond most cordially to the nomination of "honest old Abe" Gov Chase cheerfully acquiesces in the nomination of Mr Lincoln and is giving him his earnest and able support. You may co[u]nt the Buckey[e]s in for 30 to 40 thousand majority for the Rail candidate of the Prairie State. You will please hand the inclosed 2$ to Mr Hanks. I will be happy to hear from you from time to time as the canvass progresses. With many thanks for your kindness

I am very truly yours WM. M GREEN

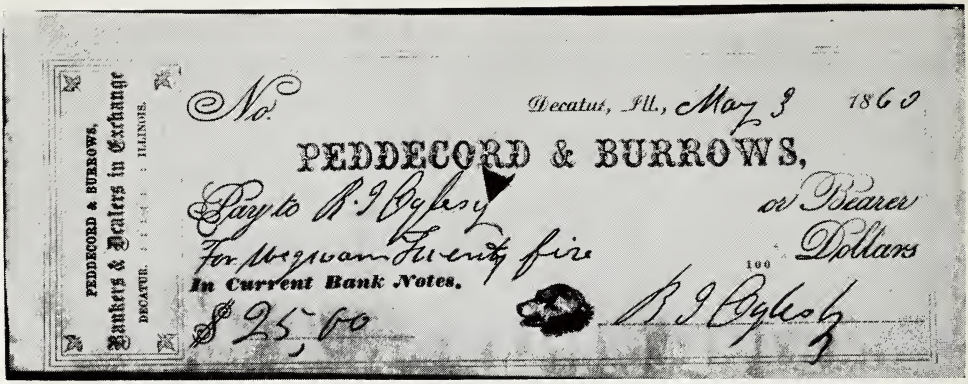
Oglesby felt obliged to explain to Jesse K. Dubois, Republican State Auditor and a candidate for re-election, why he had to charge for the rails which had come to be so important to the party.

DECATUR, MAY 24, 1860

Jesse K. Dubois.

MY DEAR SIR

We sent you today for benefit of your office two rails made by old Abe Lincoln and John Hanks thirty years ago in this county.



Oglesby contributed $25 to the Decatur Wigwam fund by making out this check to himself.

There is no disputing their genuine character. We had hoped to make presents to our friends throughout the country of them, but in my absence at Chicago the fever got up, and Mr. Hanks has had to pay a pretty sound price for them, and hauled them twelve miles to town. Upon receipt of them any return you may make to me for old John I know will be satisfactory to him. I sent you his attested certificate of the facts.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) R. J. Oglesby.[5]

Dubois had his two rails cut up into crosses with gold tips. One of these went to John Hay (later Lincoln's secretary), and he in turn gave it to Alice Huntington. Two others became the property of William Archer Dubois, son of the State Auditor.

The arrival of rails in Galena and Quincy prompted newspaper stories. Five went to Augustus Louis Chetlain, Galena merchant and later a Civil War general, and on May 28 the *Northwestern Gazette* of that town carried this article:

Those Rails

There was a report in the city last evening that five of the identical 3,000 rails, split by Abraham Lincoln thirty years ago, have arrived from Decatur.

5. Published in the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Feb. 1, 1920.

P.S. The Rails have come! Three of them are of oak, one of walnut, one of honeylocust. Col. Chetlain has them in charge.

Later, one of the Galena rails was made into a chair which was presented to the Wide Awake Club on August 1, 1860, in a ceremony in front of the De Soto House.

Kiler Kent Jones, one of the editors of the *Quincy Whig and Republican,* had ordered rails for his town, and Oglesby sent him one on May 31; Jones thanked him and sent two dollars for "Uncle John Hanks." In the June 14 issue of the *Whig,* Jones printed the following article:

THE RAIL

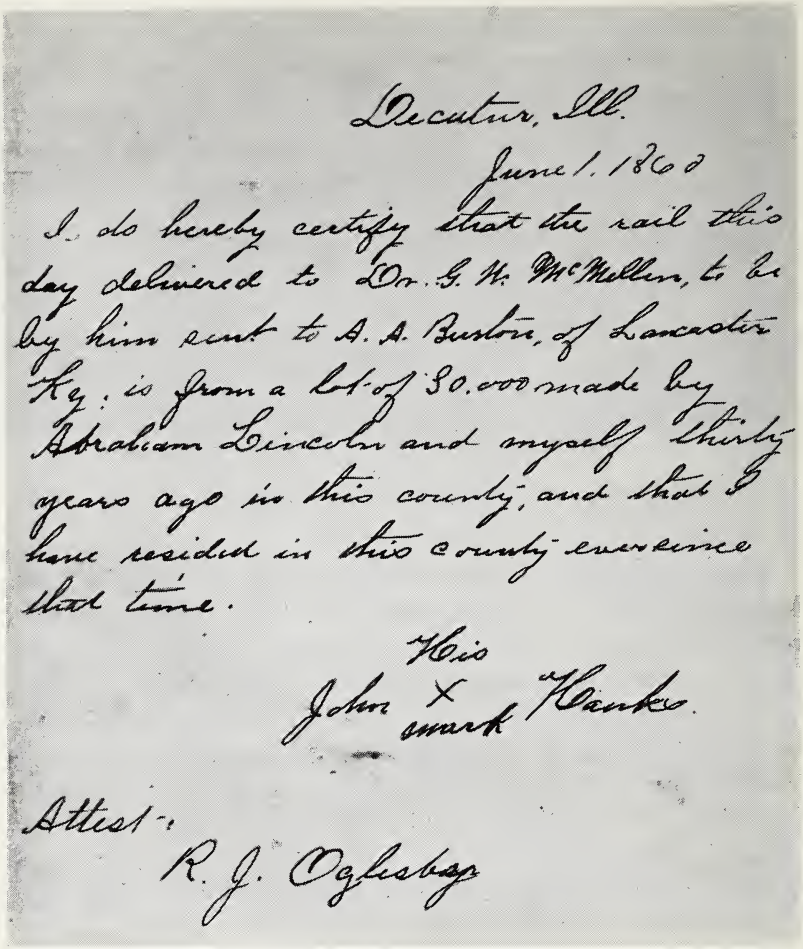
John Hanks, Esq. who worked with "Honest Old Abe" in helping him clear and prepare a ten acre field in 1830, ten miles west of Decatur, and where he and Lincoln split and made into a fence, three thousand rails, has sent us one that he writes us is "one of the genuine." The United States Express will please accept our thanks for "dead heading" it through. We intend to use it to hit on the head (politically) the locofocos of old Adams and render them political dead heads for a trip up Salt River.

Our opponents we imagine won't fancy being rode out of power on that, or any other rail — but the fact has gone forth, and it will be useless for them to rail about it.

The rail is emblematical of our glorious candidate. Rough, but faithful to duty. Slim and weather-beaten, yet as unbending as honesty and integrity itself. An emblem that will remind every hardy son of toil of the days when on the old farm at home he split rails to fence in his father's crops, and they will go to the polls in November and [defeat] doughfaces who have so long fattened upon the government meadows and gold fields.

One rail whose history can be traced to 1961 was purchased by Dr. G. W. McMillin of Decatur on June 1, 1860. McMillin, in turn, sent the rail to A. A. Burton of Lancaster, Kentucky, and the Illinois State Historical Library now has a portion of it, along with the original certificate.

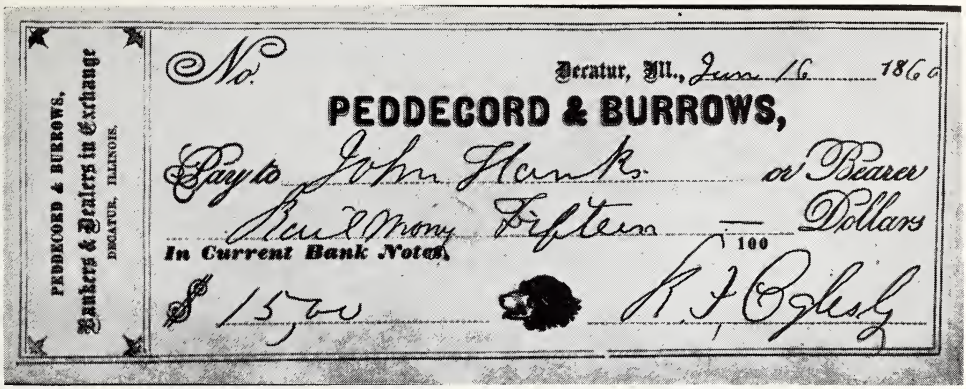
Oglesby's record of the rail transactions shows that be-


Decatur, Ill.
June 1. 1860
I do hereby certify that the rail this day delivered to Dr. G. W. McMillin, to be by him sent to A. A. Burton, of Lancaster Ky. is from a lot of 30.000 made by Abraham Lincoln and myself thirty years ago in this county, and that I have resided in this county ever since that time.
His
John X Hanks
mark
Attest:
R. J. Oglesby

Each shipment of "Lincoln Rails" made by Campaigner Oglesby was accompanied by a "certificate of genuineness" similar to this one given to Dr. G. W. McMillin of Decatur.

tween May 25 and July 12 he sent out seventy-two rails, for which he collected $31.50. However, as William C. Prescott's letter shows, he was still collecting money as late as December 20. He made two payments to John Hanks, each for $15, on May 26 and July 16, and apparently made others, for Oglesby's endorsement on the account says, "John Has recd all the money." Oglesby made no entries after the last recorded rail shipment of July 12.

The reported great numbers of "authentic" Lincoln rails



"John Has recd all the money I have had all the trouble," wrote Richard J. Oglesby of his business in "Lincoln Rails." This check was one of the payments he made to Hanks.

that flooded the country at the time do not tally with the record, which shows that Oglesby handled only seventy-two of certified authenticity. That other enterprising persons may have manufactured "genuine Lincoln rails" to satisfy the demand cannot be denied. But now, for the first time, the extent of the legitimate business is known, and the owner of any rail authenticated by Oglesby for Hanks can assert with some validity that he at least has a rail from the fence that Hanks claimed he and Lincoln built.[6]

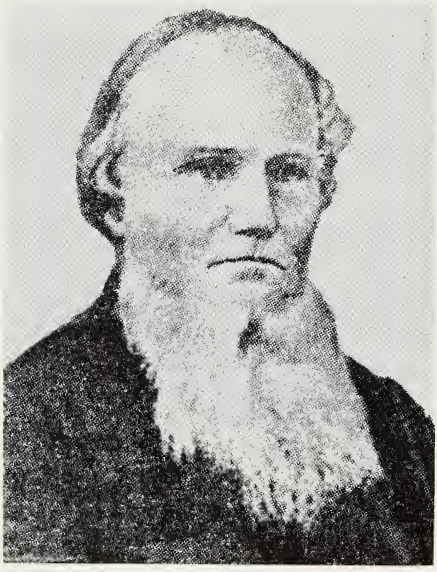
After he wound up the rail business, Oglesby continued to handle money matters for the Republican Party of Macon County. Miscellaneous records in the Oglesby Papers show that on August 17 he paid the Decatur Brass Band $21 for expenses and $17.50 for tickets for the trip to Springfield to participate in the big Republican rally on August 8. He also continued to raise funds, and on September 3 he turned over $72 to Isaac C. Pugh, of the county Republican Central

6. For a more general treatment of the rail as the party symbol, see Wayne C. Temple, "Lincoln's Fence Rails," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLVII (Spring, 1954): 20-34; and on the Decatur convention, see Otto R. Kyle, *Abraham Lincoln in Decatur* (New York, 1957).

Committee; this sum Oglesby had collected from six different individuals.

One of the most interesting letters in the Oglesby Papers documents another suspected but hitherto unproved aspect of the relations between Oglesby and Hanks.

This is the original of the Hanks letter of July 4, 1860, to the *Illinois State Chronicle,* of Decatur, in which Hanks, a lifelong Democrat, asserted that he would vote for Lincoln, countering charges in the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Statesman* that



John Hanks — this is the only known recognizable photograph of Lincoln's cousin.

he would not do so. Hanks's letter was republished throughout the nation — for, by then, any man connected with the Lincoln rails was a national figure. The manuscript letter in the Oglesby Papers is entirely in Oglesby's handwriting (Hanks could not write.) and bears this notation, "The original John Hanks letter written for him as he stood by and expressed his wishes and gave the facts to me — together we got it up and sent it forth in the Memorable campaign of A.D. 1860 R J. Oglesby."

Two Special Campaign Funds Of 1860

In the two records kept by Richard James Oglesby which are printed below, bracketed information has been supplied by the author. Identifications were made with the help of contemporary newspapers and directories.

Subscribtion To The Republican Wigwam In Decatur By Verious Citizens May 1860

D[arlington] Turnbolt [Proprietor, Revere House]	Paid to R J Oglesby	$ 25,00	
Oglesby House $25 00 — [Willis Oglesby, Proprietor]	Paid Oglesby	15 00	[25.00]
J C Benten [Benton] [Decatur alderman, 4th Ward]	" "	15 00	
J W Sponsler [Proprietor, St. Nicholas Hotel]	" "	15 00	
V V Marshall	" "	15 00	
[S.P.] MoreHouse & Wells [Hardware]	" "	10 00	
John Horten	Paid to [V.P.] Fobes	5 00	
Stamper Condell & co [Dry goods]	Paid Oglesby	5 00	
G[eorge] M Wood	" "	5 00	
John Ulrick [Ullrich] [Grocer]	" "	[5 00]	
A T Hill [Mayor of Decatur]	" "	[5 00]	
[Bob] McCabe & [Theodore] Hildebrant [Drugs]	" "	[5 00]	
G[eorge] P Hardy [Merchant]	" "	5 00	
A W Drake [Furniture]	" "	5 00	
J T Ange	Paid Fobes	5 00	
J S M	" "	5 00	
J[oseph] Miche & co [Cigar manufacturer]	" "	5 00	
George [F.] Wessels [Boots & shoes]	Paid R J Oglesby	5 00	
Thomas Albert	" "	5 00	
F[rancis] J Taylor & Co [Hardware]	" "	5 00	
J Liby &c [Dr. J. L. Libbey] [Dentist]	" "	5 00	

F[rank] L Hays [Dry goods]	"	"	5 00
T H Alexander [Hardware]	"	"	5 00
Stratton & Hubbard [Merchants]	"	"	5 00
John Slaughter [Proprietor, Central Hotel]	"	"	5 00
S[amuel] K Thompson [Merchant, former partner in J. King and Co.]	"	"	5 00
			195,00

[end of page 1 of MS]

	Amount Brot over		$ 195 00
[S.C.] Roberts & [David] Krone [Drugs]	Paid R J Oglesby		1 00
G[eorge] F Eaton [Store]	"	"	1 00
M [Y.] Givler & co [Harness and furniture]	"	"	2 00
Marshall Stafford	"	"	3 00
Mr [J. G.] Starr [Harness shop]	"	"	1 00
J[acob] J Bear [Groceries]	"	"	2 00
S G Lilleston [Jeweler]	"	"	2 00
[Samuel] Steel & Sons [Justice of peace and collecting agent]	"	"	2 00
G[eorge] R Huckleberry [Grocer]	"	"	1 00
David Martin [Brickyard]	"	"	2 00
S[ullivan] Burgess [Railroad engineer]	"	"	2 00
C[harles] Ruhle [Importer]	"	"	2 00
J[ohn] K Warren [Real estate and insurance]	"	"	2 00
C C Burrows [Burroughs] [Bookstore]	"	"	[2 00]
George W Bright [Businessman]	"	"	[2 00]
B G [B] Hockady [Lived north of Decatur]	"	"	[1 00]
[Christian] Reibsame [Hairdresser]	"	"	[2 00]
J M C Johnson [Clothier]	"	"	2 00

Wm Rea [Vice-president, Macon County Agricultural Society]	Paid V. P. Fobes	5 00
Hasting Shrubby Man	Paid V. P. Fobes	5 00
Thomas Wingate [Store]	" "	5 00
Rail Road Bank	" "	5 00
John [R.] Race [Clothier]	Paid Oglesby	1 00
[Dr. G.W.] McMillan [McMillin?] & [Dr. E.W.] Moore	" "	5 00
		$253,00

[end of page 2 of MS]

R J Oglesby Cr By Expenses Paid For Wigwam

Tellegraphing	1,25
Do. Leve	5 45
Hauling Logs & Cutting Logs	4,60
One Days Labor to Austin	1 50
One hand to assist In hauling Lumber	1 25
½ day to one Hand for Labor	75
One Day hauling Lumber & one Hand —	2 00
Expenses for getting Two Rails —	2 00
Paid 12 Boys as pages & runners	[12 00]
Paid Pat Gillesbie	[1 00]
Paid [J.C.] Benton For Ale —	[3 10]
Paid Wm Hughes —	[1 00]
Paid John McCory —	[1 00]
John Anery —	[1 00]
H C Sullivan	2 00
James Harvey	2 00
[Bob] McCabe & [Theodore] Hildebrant — [Drugs]	3 60
Paid on orders of [Dewitt C.] Shockl[e]y	9,75
Paid [D.W.C.] Hardys Bill [Merchant]	10 46
Paid Stephen Lewis —	4 75
John Connelly —	1 00
To Dr Janny for Flagg	3 50
Paid for Hauling Lumber back	2 00
" Pat Gillespie	1 00
" [S.P.] Morehouse & [W.T.] Wells — [Merchants]	5 25
Over —	[83]21

[end of page 3 of MS]

Cr Brot Ford —	$[83]21
Paid Orlando Pow[e]rs for Hall	15 00
" Moren Hall to Ehrman	10 00
" Taylor & Bell	1,00
½ dys work —	75
½ dys work Loading Lumber	75
3 days to Bill Stann,	3 75
Stationery to Noture Mar	5 70
on order of [Dewitt C.] Shockl[e]y — [Contractor]	1,00
Paid Brass Band —	30,00
For Bugg[y] & Horse to go after John Hanks —	2 00
Last Bill for Team ½ day hauling	1,50
Wm. J Usrey['s] Bill [Editor, *Illinois State Chronicle*]	15 00
	169 66
For Omited Items & Sundries say	34
Total credit —	170 00
From Total Subscribtions	$253,00
Take credits	170 00
	$ 83 00
of This Sum collect by Fobes	40 00
Due to Party from R J Oglesby	43 00
Due to Party from Fobes	40 00
[Line illegible]	$83 00
R J Oglesby Paid to Capt [Isaac C.] Pugh Treasurer of the Republican committee for Macon co In cash	$40,00

Acct of R J Oglesby R J Oglesby
with Wigwam —
adjusted May 23rd 1860 —

1860 *R J Oglesby*
To John Hank[s]

May 25d		To one Rail sent by Mr Zane to Cal.	Pd $	2,50
	x	To 10 Rails sent to Press & Tribune Ills	Pd	10 00

	x	"	2	"	sent to [John Maxwell] Hart & [Barton S?] Kyle Troy ohio		
	x	"	5	"	sent to [Augustus Louis Chetlain] Galena Ills [Merchant]	Pd	5 00
	x	"	1	"	sent to Clinton to Moore Ills		
	x	"	5	"	" Wm M Green Dayton Ohio —		2 00
	x	"	2	"	" Jesse K Duboise — Ills — [Republican Candidate for Auditor of the State of Illinois, Springfield]		
	x	"	2	"	" N C Geer Peoria [*Peoria* (Ill.) *Daily Transcript*]		
	x		1	"	[J.] Milligen Decatur		
	x		1	"	Calhoun		
	x		1	"	[B.F.] James [Pekin attorney and former editor, *Tazewell Whig*]		
25	x		2		To I P Zane Cal		
26			3		Rails to be retained for John E Rosette Ills [Attorney, Springfield]		
"	x		2	"	To J N[elson] Brockway Belvidere Boone Co Ill R J Oglesby By cash Paid John Hanks		$15 00
	x		10		Rails to John Hopper Springfield Ills		
31	x		3		Rails to be sent to Wm C Prescott Salem Massachusetts		
	x		1		To K[iler] Kent Jones Quincy Ills [Editor, *Quincy Whig and Republican*]	Pd	2 00

all marked so x have been sent as ordered

		x	1	To Editor [A. C. Clayton] of *Prairie State* Jerseyville Ills		1 00
		x	1	To Dr [G.W.] McMillin to go to [A.A. Burton, Lancaster] Kentucky		
June	1st	x	1	To Mechanicsburg Ohio	Pd	1 00
June	4d	x	1	To G[eorge] M Wood — Decatur Ills	Pd	1 00
		x	1	To [John E.] White [John] Stewart & [John A.] White Ills Chicago [Wooden and willow ware, 95 S. Water St.]		
"	7d	x	1	To [V.P.] Fobes — To be sent to Ohio to T T Houston for which He Has not paid Me		
		x	4	To James H B[r]ewster of Springfield Ills [Engineer]		3 00
June	16			Paid John Hanks cash		15,00
	21	x	2	Rails sent to James Henry Kalamazoo Mich	Pd	2 00
	14	x	2	Rails To M F Webb New Brunswick N J		2 00
	25	x	1	G H. Bancroft Cincinnatti Ohio	Pd	1,00
July	7		3	To [R.B.] Winchester [Harness maker] to Monticello Piatt co by Hanks		
"	12		1	To John Calhoun to be sent off		
"	"		1	To Berry H. Cassell [Decatur hardware] to Columbus		

[Endorsement:] Rail acct with / John Hanks — John / Has recd all the money / I have had all the trouble / R J Oglesby

SAMUEL REZNECK

Diary of a New York Doctor In Illinois — 1830-1831

Samuel Rezneck is a professor of history at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York. He received his Ph.D. in history from Harvard University and, as a Sheldon Traveling Fellow, also studied at the Sorbonne and the London School of Economics. He is the author of articles which have appeared in a number of historical and economic publications, including the American *and* English Historical Reviews; Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Economic History, Journal of Modern History, Essays in Political Theory, New York History *and* Growth of the American Economy.

ASA FITCH began to keep a diary in 1821 as a boy of twelve, while a student at Washington Academy in his birthplace, Salem, New York, and kept it up more or less continually until his death in 1879.[1] In the summer of 1830, then all of twenty-one years of age, Fitch traveled west and spent the winter of 1830-1831 in Greenville (Bond County), Illinois. It was, on balance, an unhappy winter, marred by chronic illness and discomfort and an inability to accept the cruder conditions of life in that western community. By May, 1831, Fitch was again back in Salem, where he lived on the ancestral farm for virtually the remainder of his life.

The volumes of Fitch's diary which deal with his western

1. Asa Fitch's Diary, in numerous volumes, is at the Yale University Library. The author wishes to express his gratitude for permission to use the materials to the officers of the library, and especially to Dr. Howard B. Gotlieb, librarian of historical manuscripts at Yale, for his courtesy in making the Diary available, as well as to Dr. Charles Boewe, of the University of Pennsylvania, for bringing its whereabouts to his attention.

trip are an informative and sensitive report of life in an Illinois community in 1830.[2] It is a report on many levels, from the personal discomforts of a tediously severe winter (remembered in Illinois as the "Winter of the Deep Snow") to the professional disappointments and the limited but not inconsiderable pleasures and recreation afforded by the social and intellectual activities in which young Fitch engaged. Here, seen through the eyes of a cultivated and intelligent young man, is a convincing record of American life in the new West.

Although only twenty-one on his arrival in Greenville, Asa Fitch was already, in the early ripening that was characteristic of the time, a young man of some attainment and promise. The son and grandson of physicians in Salem, Asa was now himself a physician, his medical education acquired largely as an apprentice to other physicians, in Salem, Castleton and elsewhere. Indeed, his main interest at Greenville was to establish himself professionally, at first in occasional relief of Dr. J. B. Drake, already in practice there.[3] But young Fitch had still another, more unusual field of interest. He had spent a year, 1826-1827, as a student at the Rensselaer School, in Troy, New York, under the tutelage of Amos Eaton, an important figure in American geology and an ardent pioneer in the promotion of a new type of education which emphasized "the application of science to the common purposes of life." At that school,

2. Vol. 6 of Fitch's Diary, to which references will hereafter be made unless otherwise indicated, begins soon after his arrival in Greenville. Other relevant volumes are 4 and 5.

3. One of the first doctors in Bond County, Drake was said to have come from New Jersey. He is remembered more for his mercantile business, which he operated for some twenty-five years, than for his medical practice. His store was at the corner of Main and Sixth streets in Greenville. William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1882), 43, 85, 122.

founded in 1824 under the patronage of Stephen van Rensselaer, last of the Hudson Valley patroons, Fitch had received one of the first degrees awarded; and, more important, he had been inspired with an enthusiasm for science which was eventually to lead him to a lifelong career in entomology. He became one of the founders of this new field of science and served as New York's first state entomologist.[4] In his brief stay at Greenville, Fitch made an unsuccessful attempt to establish himself as a teacher, one of the numerous band of Amos Eaton's disciples, who undertook to spread the new gospel of science in American education and life.

Fitch's original destination had been Galena, and it is nowhere explained why and how that destination was changed. His plans for the trip west were deliberately and carefully made. Among his many farewell visits was one to a Dr. Freeman, who gave him a professional "recommend in the most absolutely laudatory terms — the highest encomium," as well as "some intelligence about the mode and amount of Medical charges." Another farewell visit was to his minister, Dr. Proudfit, who also gave him "a recommend and some *good advice*." Lingering good-bys were said to the girls of his acquaintance. With the sentimentality of youth in a romantic age, Asa records "such a kiss, in addition to the rest of the ceremony . . . of the very sweetest and dearest order. Oh, Clarinda Taggart, my business

4. Fitch's education and life at the Rensselaer School are described in Vols. C, D and E of his Diary (1826-1827); see also Palmer C. Ricketts, *History of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1824-1934* (New York, 1934); H. B. Nason, *Biographical Record of the Officers and Graduates of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute* (Troy, N.Y., 1887); D. L. Collins, *The Bug-Catcher of Salem* (*Bulletin to the Schools,* Vol. 40, No. 7 [March, 1954], pub. by the State Education Department for the University of the State of New York).

in this line is now done, with you, forever. My lips have come in contact with yours, times and *ways* without number. . . . Well, your charms will never be obliterated from my memory . . . .," and the narrative of that farewell closes in a burst of verse.[5]

At last came the day of departure. Fitch "started at about six o'clock, without saying good-by, or letting a tear, or a sigh escape from me. I had no predisposition for that sort of thing, but, on the contrary, felt in unco' good cheer." His first stop was at Troy, where he spent an evening with his father, who gave him $100, "which I look upon as the last money I shall ever receive from him, and as sufficient to carry me to Galena, without stopping to raise funds by popular lecturing." In fact, Fitch did break his long trip west, and helped finance it, by joining Eaton's "flotilla tour" organized for scientific study along the Erie Canal. Fitch had begun his scientific education on the first trip of this kind in 1826, and now Professor Eaton invited him to accompany the tour as an assistant professor, "if the *honor* of the station will be a sufficient compensation. I think it will." This was an unusual beginning for a western migration in 1830; and, while waiting for the tour to start, Fitch spent some time at the Rensselaer School, at what was already a favorite pursuit, "copying entomology from Ree's, collecting other materials, as well as visiting old friends, and buying a hat for $3.63, which is just $3.63 more than I had ought to spare for any purpose at present." He spent another $6.17 for a box filled with chemical apparatus, and addressed it: "This side up, with care, glass. Dr. A. Fitch, Galena, Ilanois [*sic*]."[6]

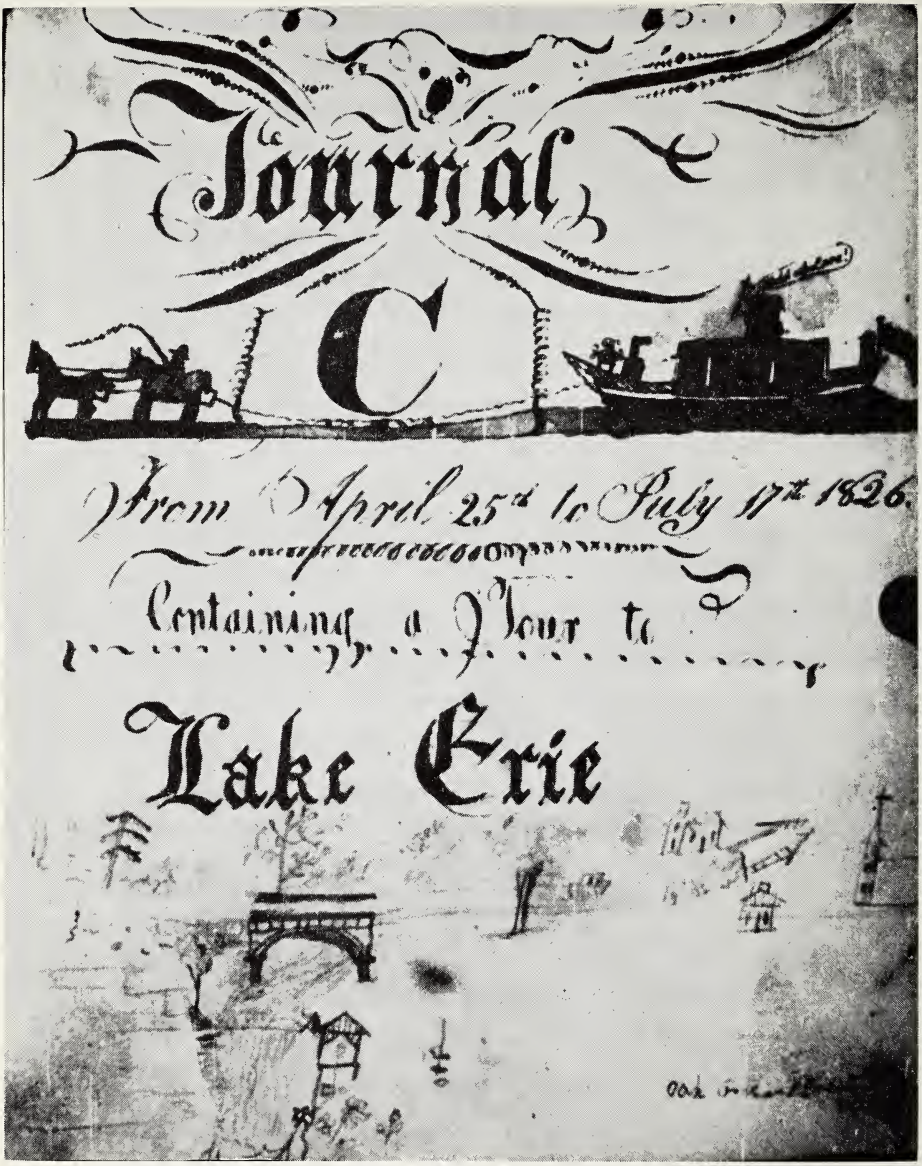
5. Diary, Vol. 4, pp. 32-33.
6. *Ibid.*, 17, 37, 74-75.

On July 1, 1830, the canal boat, named *The Surprise,* was loaded with passengers and baggage, and "at last started. An excellent trumpeter was engaged, who gave us a number of fine tunes on our key-bugle. . . . We were all on deck, full of happiness and contentment . . . anticipating a thrice pleasant tour, enriching our cabinets with a variety of elegant and valuable specimens, and our minds with much practical knowledge of Natural History." When they reached the locks at the Cohoes Falls just north of Troy, Fitch left the boat and walked across country "bug-net in hand" before rejoining the boat farther on. This procedure was frequently repeated during the tour.[7]

Fitch remained with the Rensselaer flotilla only a few days, leaving it at Utica, New York, to take charge of a class in the high school there for three weeks; he thus added $15 to his funds. On August 3 he finally embarked with his trunk and boxes on the *Mobile,* of the New York and Ohio Line, for the real start of his western adventure. Now he waxed eloquent and almost dithyrambic, as he

> was again gliding over the long, long canal, full of the ardent hopes of youth. . . . Now I was journeying to the "far west" regions of Missouri, Illinois, and Michigan, thousands of miles beyond where my feet have ever trod before; now I was to go along the most stupendous canals, rivers, and lakes of the Eden of my native country — the El Dorados of America — whose mineral stores are inexhaustible, whose fertile soil is unparallelled . . . where rare insects of the richest and most splendid hues . . . are ever shooting through the air, or feeding on the gay flowers, to woo my mind, and deck my cabinet. . . . Let me *on, on,* fast as the powers of Equinus, Eolus, and Neptune — aye, and *steam,* more powerful than all, can carry me. Let me see these scenes, feast my eyes with the sight of this Elysium, and my mind with investigating its new natural objects. Our boat proceeds very slow — much slower than I thought these line boats travelled.

7. *Ibid.,* 77-81.



(Photo courtesy Howard B. Gotlieb, librarian of historical manuscripts, Yale University Library.)

Asa Fitch drew elaborate designs for his diaries — this one, "Journal C," covers a period of nearly three months in 1826. Note the canal boat being towed by two horses hitched in tandem, above. In the sketch below, the canal passes over a stream on a viaduct.

Fitch commented more prosaically upon the "heterogeneous crew of emigrating Scotch, Irish, Yankee, and a few others, travelling all to the occidental regions . . . to search out homes for themselves in the wilderness, like myself. . . . And their bodies and baggage are stowed away in the cabins, to such an extent that it is what may be called crowded."

To his general anticipation of the life that lay ahead, Fitch added almost a sense of special mission. A religious youth in a religious age, he had attended church all day one Sunday in Utica. The occasion was an address by "Mr. Beecher, agent of the American Sunday School Union, . . . on the proposed effort of the Union to establish Sunday Schools throughout the Valley of the Missisippi [*sic*]. His remarks . . . went to the very bottom of my heart." Fitch was moved both to tears and to a resolution that "Oh, I shall go there, and I shall *act*. What I can do, I will do." Beecher's account "of the ignorance and moral waste of that vast country . . . would induce me to go into the vale of the Missisippi, where so much good must and can be done. And under the blessing of God cannot I, even I, though a weak, powerless mortal, . . . do something?"[8]

Somewhat self-consciously, therefore, Fitch faced his destiny and destination, as he awoke to a new day, with the "sun . . . just rising in all his glory, and was not this to be a glorious day in the history of my journey – my life?" The actual occasion was only another break in his journey, on August 5, to visit and say farewell to a girl friend from his home town, who was now living near Jordan. Fitch decked himself out in the style of the contemporary dandy for the visit to Emily: "Clean shirt, a clean cambric cravat, in a

8. *Ibid.*, 123, 128 ff., 143. "Mr. Beecher" was probably Edward Beecher, the first president of Illinois College, who served 1830-1844.

square knot, the ends reversed and decked with my chain connected breast pins . . . Blue pantalloons and coat; light Valencia striped and figured vest, thread stockings, and highly glossed pumps, composed the most ornamental deshabille my wardrobe afforded." Here was no country bumpkin, but as Fitch himself put it: "I am no longer the bashful boy of 19 . . . no longer that young student, just beginning to learn a profession. That profession I was now master of . . . . now on my way to the far west in search of a home and wealth and honor." During an affectionate meeting and bantering breakfast with Emily, he told her "some of the western squaws stood the best chance [to become his wife], and some years hence, she might expect me along with such a wife, and two or three papooses, on my way to visit Salem."[9]

With this exchange Fitch made his final break with home and continued on his way west. Unfortunately, the diary breaks off abruptly with this date, save for a detailed accounting of expenditures for the period from August 6 to October 3, "up to my arrival in Greenville." His total outlay was $112.46. From this list one can reconstruct the journey, by canal, lake, river and road, through Buffalo, Erie, Ashtabula, Steubenville, Louisville, Shippingport and St. Louis. From St. Louis he traveled to Greenville by stage and horseback. Fitch recorded his costs in the still current York shillings and pence, at eight shillings to the dollar, as well as in dollars and cents. At Buffalo, for example, he exchanged $70 at one-half cent discount per dollar. Lodgings and breakfast generally cost him between two and three shillings per night, and dinners were usually two shillings. He also made divers odd purchases, such as "gingerbread

9. Diary, Vol. 5, pp. 2 ff.

and beer, via supper, 10 cents"; two dozen crackers, one shilling; candles, three cents; mush and milk, six cents; and peaches, six cents. There was also an occasional "sugar candy — peppermint, one shilling"; "Cavendish Tobacco, mean stuff, six cents"; milk punch, three shillings; and at the end, "Brandy Sling! one shilling."[10]

Fitch resumed his diary in a new (the sixth) volume at Greenville on December 1, 1830, and ended his entries, again quite abruptly, on February 20, 1831. For this period the diary is a vivid and colorful report of people and places, often with critical commentary and generally suffused with a tone of self-pity. It reveals both the character of the diarist and the quality of life in that crude young community in Illinois.

Fitch's primary problem in Greenville — the seat of Bond County[11] — was to find adequate professional employment. There was already a physician in town, a Dr. Drake, who called on Fitch to take an occasional case for him. The first case Fitch reported in his diary was that of Josiah Suggs,[12] living some five miles out of town, whom Fitch reached after a hard ride on horseback. He found the patient "taken badly with the colic," but frequently "getting up and dashing out at the door" into the damp air. Fitch prepared to spend a wakeful night. There was some compensation, however, in an abundant supper consisting of "a dish of venison, a plate of corn bread, and a coffee pot . . . the venison . . .

10. *Ibid.*, "Table of Expenditures" at end of Vol. 5.

11. In 1835 the entire county of Bond, which contained 360 square miles of territory, had only about 3,500 people; the population of Greenville, the county seat, was 200. *Illinois in 1837* . . . (Philadelphia, 1837), 72-73; J. M. Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois* . . . (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), 115.

12. Members of the Sugg (usually so spelled) family were early settlers in Pocahontas Precinct, where Josiah was a farmer. Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery*, 96. 141.

from a young fawn, so tender and sweet." He idled away the long hours of the night, "during the intervals between administering medicine . . . rambled about the leafless woods . . . humming over The Lighthouse, Knight Errant, etc. etc."

Toward morning, as he was about to return to town for a fresh supply of cathartics, the patient grew worse and "gradually and slowly sank into the arms of death." Fitch then left, after trying "to impart such consolation [to the family] as I was capable of doing." Later he discussed the case with Dr. Drake, who thought there had been sufficient symptoms of enteritis to justify bleeding. Fitch agreed, except for "the pulse – that was all that prevented me."[13]

Fitch's relations with Dr. Drake were never cordial, and his offers of help were not welcome, moving him to comment: "Mercy! The more I see of, and reflect upon this man's actions and disposition, the more I dread having any intercourse with him, or even coming into his company, except when he happens to be in the best spirits." A few days later Fitch reported visits to a Mr. Camp's[14] oldest boy, "who has frequent turns of severe pain at the pit of his stomach." Fitch did not think the pain was due to colic but attributed it to some organic injury, "for he is a right backwoods character, fighting everything, tumbling from horses, etc. Peragoric [*sic*], laudanum, Bleeding, and Purging, has been the treatment, none of which produce permanent relief."[15]

Despite the hardships attending the practice of medicine,

13. Diary, Vol. 6 (Dec. 1, 1830), 1 ff.

14. Probably Hosea T. Camp, Bond County sheriff, 1824-1827, and circuit clerk at this time. Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery*, 68, 87, 102, 104; MS records in Illinois State Archives.

15. Diary (Dec. 8, 11), 7, 10.

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Fitch wished he had more of it, "to stand some chance of supporting myself." He was glad even to make a hard six-mile horseback ride to visit one patient, if only "to get once more out of Greenville and among the woods and prairies." After a long, wandering search, he found the home of the patient, Thomas Fenton, who was sick with "diarrhoea, complicated with a cold." Compelled to stay overnight, Fitch was invited to sleep "on the bed with the patient – there being but one more in the room (which constituted the whole building) and that was occupied by the children, and girls." He sat up late, "reading by the fire-light, and then, without undressing, laid down on the back-side of the bed, and after some time, shivered myself to sleep."

The next day, after a breakfast consisting of the same dishes as the previous night's supper, cold chicken and corn bread, Fitch left some medicine and returned to town, with bleeding nose and black eye – which he had suffered when his horse reared and pranced in an attempted runaway.[16]

Dr. Drake later charged Fitch with "foundering" his horse, which scarcely improved their relations. Nevertheless, Fitch welcomed such cases as came his way, on one occasion entering into his diary: "Thank Fortune! I received another call, though one for which I shall never get anything. Dover, one of the very off-scourings of creation, wished me to see his wife . . . gave *Tinct-opii* as a palliative, which seemed to help her even more than I expected it to." He prescribed "bread and milk poultices and the doses of Peruvian bark to be enlarged," for the minister's wife, Mrs. Solomon Hardy, who was very sick with abscesses of the breast. He also recorded that at the Hardys' he had light

16. *Ibid.* (Jan. 6-7), 31 ff.

wheat bread at breakfast, "a great rarity . . . in this country," which was more accustomed to "unfermented biscuit, or warm short cake." Fitch's medical practice was sufficiently varied to include a difficult case of childbirth, the woman's "first labor – and my first opportunity of attending at such a time." He found three old women there, one of them "a reputed midwife." After an all-night vigil in a cold house, "the progress of the labor amounted to nothing," and he left for the long hard ride to town, "assuring them all was right . . . and that time and patience was all that I could then conceive to be necessary." The next day a man came to "get me to go back, telling a most preposterous story – the child growing to the mother." Fitch was too exhausted to go, "nor did I believe it necessary. Drake got back last night – and swore he would not turn out." The account ends with Fitch's instructions to the man "to have her bled – sent an anodyne for her to take," and with a promise to "go in the morning, if they should then send, and I was not unwell."[17]

During this time Fitch had also been attempting to organize a school for the winter term, but this project was frustrated by the appearance of a rival, a Mr. Pierce from East Tennessee, who circulated a subscription list, offering to board with his scholars' families and to take "half the pay $2 in trade or good young cattle!!" Fitch thought it was folly to start two schools and proposed that "it would be best to have a meeting of the parents called, and let them say which teacher they would have." But Pierce's tactics, coupled with the lukewarm reception accorded Fitch, discouraged the latter and provoked a final angry outburst: "Oh such folks as these – I am glad I am not obliged to

17. *Ibid.*, 37, 44, 51 ff.

spend my life with them." In his desire for "any way to get a few coppers," Fitch even turned legalistic, composing a petition to Governor John Reynolds in behalf of one Jim Davis, "for the remission of a $75 fine for assault and battery." Fitch believed that the petition "should not be granted — and would not be, if the governor knew all the circumstances of the case."[18]

Fitch's general dissatisfaction was further fed by the combined discomforts of ill health and poor living quarters. His health was a matter of chronic concern to him, and, more than the rest of his meager medical practice, it provided him with material for frequent medical reports in the diary. His extended comments upon his recurring fits of the ague and similar ailments suggest that he was something of a hypochondriac, and his commentary upon Greenville and its people is underlaid with a note of self-pity.

Characteristic was his entry for December 8: "This afternoon and evening I had a fit of the ague and fever. . . . I rested miserably (or mighty poorly as the folks here would express it.)." He stayed by the fireside the whole of the following day "to avoid the return of the ague if possible . . . and wore my overcoat into the bargain." A few days later, as his "chills were again coming on," he dosed himself with quinine — morning, noon and night — "but all did no good, and I was forced to go to bed." Cold, rainy weather kept him in his lodgings, and he complained that "the air comes into the house, almost as cold as it is out at the door; for the building is only weather boarded; with cracks wide enough to crowd through in the chamber-floor overhead, and it will be so all winter, I have not the least doubt." Much of Fitch's effort and energy went into keeping

18. *Ibid.*, 24.

warm, if not well. One such cold day proved to be "the most tedious day we have yet had. . . . But oh for warmer weather! Our house is like a barn, only perhaps less warm. The snow blows in at all the innumerable crevices and is drifting down from the chamber onto everything. . . . And here we are all sitting around a large fire — as large as an honest-sized chimney can contain, and we are twisting and turning and screwing . . . all with the endeavor, the hope of getting both sides warm. Vain hope!" A few days before Christmas it was so cold that he had to forego writing "because the ink freezes every minute in my pen." Later in the day, "by thoroughly warming the book and paper," he resumed his writing. Youth, however, asserted itself in the complaint that one effect of the cold days was that "our table is set but twice in the 24 hours," making "the intervals almost too long for one whose appetite [is] . . . increased by a state of convalescence from the ague. Nor do apples, frozen as mine are, make up for this deficiency." A month later Fitch was still "opiumizing to-day to keep off my ague . . . [I] wear my overcoat this afternoon."[19]

Despite his chronic illness and self-pitying discontent, Fitch was not cut off from the life of the community. On the contrary, he managed to savor quite fully its limited serious offerings — religious, intellectual and social. He even shared in and contributed to such jovial gaiety, both male and mixed, as the town afforded. On the first Sunday recorded in the diary, December 5, Fitch heard a Mr. Farnum[20] preach twice, "A.M. at the Court House, and P.M.,

19. *Ibid.*, 8, 12, 14, 16, 29, 55.

20. Probably Lucien Farnham, graduate of Amherst College and Andover Seminary, who went to Illinois as a home missionary in 1830. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1905 (Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society,* X, Springfield, 1906), 281, 283.

on account of the cold, at Mr. Black's." A graduate "of Amherst College, he was on the expence of the Massachusetts Missionary Society," and was in search of a place to settle. Greenville was in need of a preacher, and Fitch hoped he would stay permanently: "Was he and I both settled here, we should start a Lyceum."

Except when deterred by illness or inclement weather, Fitch conscientiously attended and appraised the sermons delivered by visiting preachers. On December 19, for example, he was greatly pleased with a "superior" sermon by Mr. Baldwin,[21] visiting from Vandalia, "his deliverance earnest and impressive." Moreover, during the interval between morning and evening meetings, Fitch made his first social acquaintance with a Miss Enloe. He described her as "a good-looking girl, but, alas, like all the rest of them in this place, has scarcely any education, and has had no opportunity for seeing the world, or learning to be 'genteel,' as the Greenvillians would say."[22]

The only regular minister was Solomon Hardy, at the nearby Ohio settlement,[23] whose wife Fitch treated professionally. Hardy was a native of New Hampshire and a graduate of Middlebury College in Vermont, and he was even familiar with science. Nevertheless, Fitch judged him

21. The Rev. Theron Baldwin became minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Vandalia in the spring of 1830 and served there until the following spring. A Connecticut-born Yale graduate, Baldwin was a member of the famous "Yale Band" of divinity students who founded Illinois College. *Ibid.*, 281; Brink, McDonough & Co., pub., *History of Fayette County, Illinois* . . . (Philadelphia, 1878), 39.

22. Diary, 5, 14.

23. The Ohio settlement was four or five miles northwest of Greenville in Cottonwood Grove Precinct The Shoal Creek Presbyterian Church in the settlement was founded March 10, 1819, and Hardy served as its minister, 1829-1831. Earlier he had organized a Presbyterian church in Vandalia, where he was sent by the American Home Missionary Society. Brink, McDonough, *Fayette County,* 39; Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery,* 111, 112, 167.

harshly: "Nature has given him but little. . . . Verily Mr. Hardy . . . is still a sap-head — he has no foundation . . . to enable him to be a preacher." One fine Sunday in January, however, four sleighs of people drove out of town to hear a Mr. Spillman,[24] on exchange with Hardy, and young Fitch sat "beside Sally [Berry?] and a Miss Williams." The meeting was held in a neighboring house, since the church was cold; even so, Fitch was "too cold to listen so attentively as I should have done."[25]

In more secular, but yet rather solemn, vein, Fitch was active in the formation and functioning of what he called "our Greenville Polemical Society." He was asked to prepare a constitution for the society "as near on the plan [of those] of the east which I have belonged to . . . with some alterations and modifications to adapt it to the state of society here." At first his proposal was thought to be "too long and intricate, but as they got to practicing it, it appeared to answer very well." The first meeting of some six or eight persons adopted the constitution, section by section, and elected officers. The first choice for president, Seth Blanchard,[26] whose store was the principal community center, proved to be unfortunate; "badly in his cups" at the next meeting, Blanchard pleaded inability to serve, and a new election replaced him with the more suitable William Stewart, who was to become Fitch's closest and most highly regarded friend.

Topics and opponents for debate were selected regularly,

24. Probably Thomas A. Spillman, who a few years later became minister of the Greenville Presbyterian Church, located about two miles northwest of town. *Ibid.,* 111-12, 168.

25. Diary, 30, 36, 45, 55.

26. Seth Blanchard, who came to Bond County from New York in 1820, operated several different stores in Greenville in the early years. Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery,* 68, 78, 122.

and the fortnightly meetings provided welcome diversion and occupation for young Fitch, who faithfully reported the meetings in his diary. With varying success and satisfaction for Fitch, the questions debated ranged from the timely, practical and immediate to the remote and theoretical. They offer a significant clue to the prevailing state of opinion and intellectual interest in an American community of 1830. Perhaps properly, the opening question "Had the Europeans or the aborigines the better right to this country?" was happily left undebated and unresolved for want of time and prepared disputants. This was followed more appropriately by a timely and relevant: "Is it constitutional for the general government to carry on a system of internal improvements?" Fitch was greatly pleased with his "maiden speech" in this debate, which was decided affirmatively; and he resolved "to push the business this winter, to try to make some permanent improvements in *extempore* speaking."[27]

At a later date the Polemical Society discussed the vaguely Rousseauistic theme: "Are the works of nature more admired than the works of art?" – also decided in the affirmative. Another question, resolved affirmatively and conservatively, after brief and poor debate, was "Have parents a right to interfere in the marriage of their children?" They also discussed and resolved, in the familiar affirmative fashion, such political issues as the "permanency of republics" and "Would it be policy in government to emancipate the negroes in about ten years?" One can appreciate Fitch's annoyance at a "protracted and tedious" debate on the topic: "Shall the mails be stopped on the Sabbath?" He was outvoted, "much as I expected," on his negative posi-

27. Diary, 5 ff.

tion to another question: "Is it right that all men should have the vote?" The Greenville club even considered such perennial debate favorites as "whether early education (to 21) has more influence on a person's conduct than after associates."[28]

One debate topic was already in 1831 of sufficient urgency to receive more than academic argument. This was, of course, slavery, and, through his friendship with the uncompromising abolitionist William Stewart, Fitch found himself on one occasion drawn into activities which included fast, prayer and the adoption of resolutions. The occasion was a meeting at Mr. Hardy's church in the Ohio settlement, on Thursday, January 20, "appointed by the Synod, for fast and humiliation on account of slavery." Stewart, whom Fitch was visiting at the time, had also prepared "a pretty pointed set of resolutions, to be passed after meeting — signed, and be published." In one of them the meeting stated its unwillingness to hear any man preach "whom we know to uphold slavery either publicly or privately, and that we do not believe any such man can be a Christian." The meeting went off as planned and lasted a goodly portion of the afternoon. Stewart and his family had kept the fast literally, and both husband and wife were "faint and languid" as a result.[29]

Fitch's closest intellectual companionship was with Stewart, but he was able, nevertheless, to appraise him shrewdly, if somewhat severely. Stewart seemed to him "like most self-educated and self-advanced men . . . deeply tinctured with vanity." He was inclined to be so "rigid and inflexible . . . [that] though vanquished he could (and would) argue

28. *Ibid.*, 12, 16, 24, 36, 43, 62.
29. *Ibid.*, 46 f.

still." Particularly was he "a most inveterate opposer of slavery, root and branch, and cannot speak long upon the subject, without being roused to anger against all, but particularly professing Christians, who upheld it." Fitch was somewhat astonished at Stewart's strange reasoning by which he regarded even the American Colonization Society as a selfish project of the slaveholders "to get off their old, worn-out slaves and the free blacks," in order to raise the value of the rest.[30]

Despite such criticism, Fitch concluded that were he to stay in Greenville, Stewart "would ever be one of my most intimate associates – unless such frequent disputings . . . made us mad with each other." Fitch visited him frequently and enjoyed staying in his "tight" house, one of the few in the area; when Stewart offered to board him, he concluded that he "could live very agreeably here, in Stewart's family, if there was not such a brood of noisy children." Although a wheelwright by trade, making small spinning wheels, Stewart had a library which Fitch found "more valuable" than he had expected. He was "particularly pleased to find Nicholson's Encyclopedia so near Greenville." This was especially noteworthy since "save the bible and methodist hymnbook, the people generally are destitute of anything of the book-kind."

Fitch found pleasure as well as intellectual stimulus in Stewart's company. One night, after the children were in bed, they gathered around the fire, and one man "began by telling a bear story," and the rest followed suit, continuing "the same amusement, till late bed-time." Even after retiring, Fitch got a Mr. Estes, his bed-fellow, who had been

30. For a more detailed study of Stewart's antislavery activities, see Winter, 1960, issue of this *Journal,* 393-403 *passim.*

a member of the New Harmony settlement, to tell him about it "and Owen, and Say, etc."[31] At a later visit Fitch confided in Stewart his decision to return to Salem in the spring, and he refused to be argued out of the move by his friend, who told him that he "could be more useful, and do more good here than there." Fitch resisted the further temptation of Stewart's substantial library, and even the invitation to accompany his friend on a tour of the country in connection with a Bible agency, since he felt that the sooner he was "now away, the better and happier."[32]

Despite his frequent indisposition, as well as his serious predisposition, Asa Fitch was young enough, and ardent enough, to welcome what opportunities became available for the sociable and the romantic. Thus, on December 18, he reported, in the jargon of the day, an evening's visit at the Blacks', in company with several young people: "On the whole, I felt in pretty good spirits, and spent the time agreeably. . . . And thus I have commenced my old tricks — of gallanting the girls." It was his first such event in months, and he was eager to "follow up the business, at least till I have some of another nature that requires attention. . . . I have held in long enough. . . . So once more, Ladyology — be thou a part of my studies! Christmas is coming. Oh for a bold 'push' on that day!" But he reminded himself sadly that there were "too small and few materials for such a thing in Greenville. Parties are almost out of the question. Heigho." But the exchanges of visits continued; at one time the occasion was a quilting party. At another, Fitch

31. Thomas Say, a member of Robert Owen's communal colony at New Harmony, Indiana, would have been of special interest to Fitch, for Say was already famous as an entomologist when he joined Owen late in 1825.

32. Diary, 39 f., 54 ff.

brought "some carpet rags for the girls" to sew on, although he himself "did not feel the same 'gift of gab' . . . nor could I force myself into so merry a humor." Another time he showed his bugs to Sally Black and then escorted her home. There the boys had a "half bushel of sweet potatoes thawing and roasting for their supper."[33]

The high point of Fitch's social life was reached on Christmas Day with its long-anticipated promise of festivity. It opened with a morning "stew as it is denominated in the language of the country, that is, a kind of drink out of much water, and little whiskey, and much unpounded pepper and spice, and some sugar. — the compound to be drunk freely, while it continues warm." Fitch drank four or five "tea-saucers" before breakfast, which "served to make me dull and stupid all of the forenoon." After dinner the party of girls and boys assembled at the Blacks' and started out for a round of visits which continued throughout the rest of the day and evening. In the afternoon they played games at the Enloe's house[34] such as "thimble," resembling the eastern "button," and "rules of contrary." The games involved penalties and pawns, such as have characterized youthful playfulness in all ages. The lady stood in the center and summoned her partner with a bit of doggerel: "Here I stand on two little chips, oh come and kiss my two little lips." The gentleman responded with a kiss. Fitch felt that in the East "there is less talk, and more action, and one does not feel half so awkward." After the game came an abundant "Tea . . . Boiled beef — boiled chicken — warm short

33. *Ibid.*, 13, 15, 58.

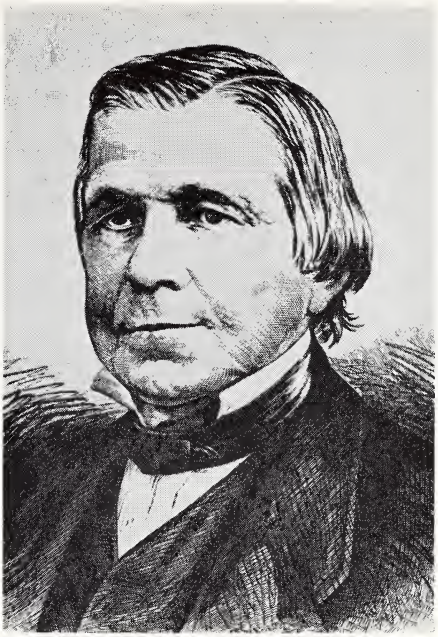
34. The Blacks have not been identified, but Enloe's house was probably the home of Asahel Enloe, who had five sons and five daughters, several of whom were Fitch's contemporaries. Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery,* 77, 78, 79 and Pt. 2, p. 48.

cake . . . pumpkin pie, coffee, and perhaps a thing or two more." Then more games before returning to town, where they visited the Blacks' for further merriment. But the evening was not yet half spent, and they had planned to ride out into the country to Carsons', "where there was to be a congregating of the backwoods juvenility, a fiddle and a man to make it go, and in such a style as to set the company to going." Fitch was eager to attend, "chiefly to see what kind of dancing is the thing among the Illinois gentry," and he was disappointed when the trip was called off because it was late and "looked likely to be an unpleasant night."[35]

Fitch's interest was divided among several girls, but he managed to be critical of nearly all of them, especially for their rustic quality and lack of eastern sophistication. He admitted, indeed, that he had "contracted a disposition to scandalize every one from being in such a 'school for scandal' as I am, here in the Berry family" — the family with which he boarded. One of the girls he thus disapproved of, despite her handsome appearance, was "our Sally," whose mind, "alas . . . though most attractive of any in her family, is wild, and uncultivated, and 'by education unrefined,' — it is 'a wilderness more dark than groves of fir on Huron's shore.' " With another girl, named Vergenne (or Virginia), Fitch apparently had a Christmas Day spat, and he resented "her flat whining tone" and her proclivity for practical jokes such as putting ice down one's neck.[36]

After Christmas, Fitch relapsed into his familiar condition of ill health and ill humor. He attained a height — or, better, a depth — of self-pity with the arrival of the New Year. He awoke that day with a headache "and felt quite unwell,

35. Diary, 17 ff.
36. *Ibid.*, 21 f.



Dr. Asa Fitch as he appeared when he was New York's first state entomologist.

languid. . . . Alas, it is to me, quite *an unhappy New Year's.*" Even "a glass of strong toddy drunk before breakfast" only left him giddy, and he spent the day on the bed "dull as a dunce block," shivering with cold, and reflecting on the "unflattering auspices to me" of the New Year.[37]

The winter round of life in the small community continued. Blanchard's store was often a gathering place for the men "drinking 'stewed whiskey'. It is the most popular drink in this country, but I do not fancy it much." Nevertheless, Fitch participated in the stew-drinking. One Saturday night he joined in "a stew again. It caused us to feel pretty merry — we sang songs around the ring a few times. I beginning with 'Richard stock-a saddle' — and afterwards singing 'Wine'll cure the gout,' and 'There was a black hen.' " Now warmed up, they went to Blanchard's store "to have a repetition of the affair," but Blanchard did not welcome them, "he probably not being under a sufficient press of

37. *Ibid.*, 27 f.

steam himself." They continued their activities elsewhere, however, with "a replenish and again went to song-singing," until they broke up between eleven o'clock and midnight.[38]

A few days later Fitch had the opportunity to break the tedium of small-town isolation. He joined a party on a trip by sleigh to Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois. Well bundled up, they "had a fine ride. My comrades were in a high gale most of the way, singing negro songs, shouting, and all that sort of thing." On arriving at Vandalia, they stopped at Duncan's tavern,[39] had a "few glasses of sling," and went to the Statehouse to hear the proceedings. With his friend Stewart he visited various offices of the state government. Fitch stayed at Judge James Hall's house, where the boarders were "mostly attending the legislature." At tea, consisting of "roast turkey cold, corn meal cakes, pancakes, molasses, and tea," silence prevailed, and "this mumness led me to apprehend my presence was not . . . graciously taken, and this depressed my spirits still more." The other meals were alike eaten with "no sociality," and he particularly disliked Judge Hall's "quakerish" ways with his guests.[40]

Both Fitch's diary and his stay at Greenville were drawing to a close. He informed Dr. Drake of his intention to return east "as soon as the weather changes. . . . He made no objections." Fitch was corresponding anxiously with his family about arrangements for money from home to enable him to return, and on one occasion he "was affected to tears"

38. *Ibid.*, 60 f.

39. Matthew Duncan, brother of Joseph Duncan (governor of Illinois, 1834-1838), operated a large brick tavern at the southwest corner of Fourth and Gallatin streets in Vandalia. See the *Illinois Intelligencer* (Vandalia), Dec. 4 and 11, 1830, and James Stuart, *Three Years in North America* (New York, 1833), II: 227.

40. Diary, 63 ff.

Dr. Fitch called this building his "Bug House" — it was where he kept his collections for his "Noxious . . . Insects of New York State."

(Photo courtesy Dr. Donald L. Collins, New York State Entomologist.)

while reading a letter from his mother to a friend. He received a sympathetic hearing from this friend, who regretted but approved his "determination of returning home in the spring."

In the meantime Fitch occupied himself in part by working on a song: "Sit down, sir, sit down, sir, and give me your ear," which pleased this same friend, one Durley,[41] so greatly ("the best song he ever did hear") that he offered to finance its printing. The diary records Fitch's attendance at one final party at the Blacks', where, "after sitting and hemming and hawing, it was proposed to go to playing at 'blind-fold' — Miss Smith was present, and made a valuable addition to our number. The play caused a vast deal of mirth, and laughter, and was carried on with spirit. After it came

41. The brothers James and William Durley were both prominent Bond County residents at one time. James was county court clerk from June 30, 1830, to Dec. 31, 1831, and had served earlier as county treasurer. Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery,* 88, 104. William, mentioned in the Diary as a partner of Dr. J. B. Drake in the store of Durley and Drake, was killed in the Black Hawk War of 1832. He was then living in Jo Daviess County, and the date he left Greenville is not known; *ibid.,* 85; *Illinois Advocate* (Edwardsville), May 29, 1832; H. F. Kett & Co., pub., *The History of Ogle County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878). Another prominent member of the family then in Bond County was Horatio, who also could have been Fitch's prospective benefactor; Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery,* 162-63.

'Sister Phoebe', and a few others." Fitch recognized the games as modifications "of those in use at the east, but they are still more like them than I would have imagined."[42]

With a final entry for Sunday, February 20, reporting Mr. Hardy's sermon at the Blacks' and commenting on the weather ("thawing, and the roads are becoming muddy"), the diary abruptly stops. The record of Fitch's stay at Greenville ends, as it began, with a diversified list of receipts and expenses, extending to March 5. His receipts include such items as $5.50 from the Rev. Solomon Hardy, and 25 cents for medicine sold, while among his expenses were payments to Mrs. Mattock for washing, to Blanchard and to Berry,[43] one or the other of whom he had boarded with since October 9, at twelve shillings ($1.50) per week. Thus did Fitch's western adventure, begun so lyrically and auspiciously in August of 1830, run out in March of 1831, in an accumulation of illness, ill humor and misadventure. Fitch returned to his ancestral home in Salem, New York, from which he never wandered far for the rest of his life, save to study the "Noxious Insects" of New York state.[44]

42. Diary, 38, 61, 67 f.

43. David Berry (1767-1842) "kept an excellent hotel, which was headquarters for the stage stand for a great many years. His table was well supplied with the best the county afforded" — Perrin, *Bond and Montgomery,* 78. His hotel was the second house west of Dr. Drake's; *ibid.,* 122; see also pp. 86, 123, and Pt. 2, p. 6.

44. Diary, 68 ff.; Vol. 7 of Fitch's diary resumes on May 6, 1831, in Salem and nearby Vermont. "The Noxious and Other Insects of New York State" was the title of fourteen voluminous reports Fitch compiled over many years. They were published in Albany for the New York State Agricultural Society. For a resumé of his later career, see the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

JAMES P. JONES

Trumbull's Private Opinion Of the Grant Scandals

An instructor of history at Florida State University, Tallahassee, James P. Jones received his Ph.D. last year from the University of Florida. His dissertation was a study of Illinois' John A. Logan. He has written articles for The Missouri Historical Review, The Tennessee Historical Quarterly *and* Mid-America.

FEW POLITICIANS have had careers as varied as that of Lyman Trumbull of Illinois. He was elected to the state House of Representatives as a Democrat in 1840 and later served as secretary of state and on the state Supreme Court. He split with the Douglas wing of the party over the Kansas-Nebraska issue and ran successfully for Congress as an anti-Nebraska Democrat in 1854. Before he took his seat, however, the Illinois legislature named him senator in January, 1855. From 1855 until 1873 Trumbull served in the upper house, first as an anti-Nebraska man and then as a leading Republican. His role during the Civil War as a close Lincoln adviser is well known, even though he did differ with the President on some issues.

Following the war Senator Trumbull became further separated from the Republican Party's radical leadership. In the impeachment crisis he was one of seven Republicans who opposed Johnson's conviction. This apostasy, together with a desire for reform amid growing evidence of Republican corruption, estranged him from the party of Grant, Thaddeus Stevens and John A. Logan. "The excesses of

Lyman Trumbull

the Grant administration drove him into the Liberal Republican movement. He was among those suggested for the presidential nomination. . . ."[1] Due to his participation in the Liberal Republican debacle, and his opposition to impeachment, Trumbull faced an angry group of party regulars in his try for re-election in 1873. The Illinois legislature, controlled by his opponents, threw the election to Governor Richard J. Oglesby, and Trumbull retired to law practice in Chicago.[2]

For the next three years, while the Grant administration's record of corruption was slowly revealed, Trumbull remained silent. He approved of the efforts of men like Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin Bristow to clean up the

1. *Dictionary of American Biography,* XIX (New York, 1936): 20.
2. Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston, 1913), 407.

sordid picture, but he said and wrote almost nothing. On January 4, 1876, with another election not far off, and the Bristow revelations reaching a peak, he addressed a rare political letter to Civil War General James Harrison Wilson, then an engineer and an interested Republican layman.[3] In a letter expressing what he labeled his "frankness," the former Senator gave his opinion of his adopted party at its lowest ebb. This letter reveals the disgust he felt as he looked over the Grant record. It also presaged Trumbull's abandonment of the Republican Party and his return to the Democrats.[4]

Private

CHICAGO
JAN. 4, 1876

DEAR GENERAL,

As you may perhaps know, I have paid very little attention to political matters the last three years — not because I have lost interest in my country's welfare, but because I have seen no opportunity of doing good. I became satisfied in 1872 that the Republican organization had become as a body corrupt, and that the people were being plundered in almost all branches of the public service. The practice of appointing men to office simply as a reward for political service is enough to demoralize any party.[5] Any attempt to correct these abuses and reform this corrupt system of appointments was at the time met with abuse from interested parties and political bummers, and nothing could

3. General James Harrison Wilson, a native of Shawneetown, Ill., was a graduate of West Point and one of the Civil War's outstanding cavalry commanders. After the war Wilson became a successful engineer engaged in railroad building. See James Harrison Wilson, *Under the Old Flag* (New York, 1912).

4. In 1880 Trumbull returned to politics on the Democratic ticket and ran unsuccessfully for governor of Illinois. His last political venture was a flirtation with the Populist movement made just before his death. White, *Trumbull*, 412-17. This letter to Wilson is in the James H. Wilson MSS, Library of Congress.

5. Trumbull, an opponent of political patronage, was an early advocate of civil service reform.

be accomplished.[6] The country would not then believe in the existence of the abuses. The time had not yet come.

For a year or two before leaving the Senate I felt that my usefulness was gone and it was without one single regret that I turned my back on that body in 1873 after an eighteen years service. Since then, hard times have come upon us and the people have at last waked up to the fact that they are being plundered by dishonest officials.[7] Thanks to the Secretary and the Solicitor of the Treasury, who have not hesitated to expose corruption and correct abuses without reference to the effect on the party.[8] That they have the courage to do this entitles them to all praise, but that the Republican organization, which is still all powerful, will allow them to prove even these whisky frauds to the bottom, and show how prominent Republicans have extorted money from whisky manufacturers, with which to corrupt the people and carry elections, I cannot believe.[9]

That Gen. Grant is personally corrupt I would not intimate, but he has been singularly unfortunate in some of the men and influences that have surrounded him. Writing as I am in confidence, in reply to a frank and candid letter, you will I know pardon my frankness in the expression of honestly intentioned opinions whether they coincide with yours or not. Permit me then to say, I do not believe the Republican organization or Gen. Grant, who is really in most cases but its instrument, will allow the Secretary [Bristow] to probe even this whisky business, to say nothing of the corruption in other branches of his department to the bot-

6. The phrase "political bummers" is an obvious allusion to the Civil War term applied, especially during Sherman's campaigns, to those scavengers who scoured the army's flanks for spoils.

7. "Hard times" refers to the depression of 1873. The public "waking up" was caused by such revelations as the Crédit Mobilier scandal, the Sanborn contract and graft in the Indian service.

8. The Secretary of the Treasury was Benjamin Bristow, and the Solicitor was Bluford Wilson. From his appointment in 1873 Bristow began investigations of graft in his department. The Whisky Ring frauds, involving theft of whisky tax money, was Bristow's most important discovery. Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, 1938), 196-99.

9. The most "prominent Republican" implicated was Grant's personal secretary, Orville E. Babcock. Several other leaders, such as John A. Logan, Matthew Carpenter (Wisconsin senator) and Grant's brother Orville, were rumored involved in the whisky frauds. Josephson, *Politicos,* 200, 203.

tom. Bristow will be driven out or some way will be found to stay the exposes before they reach the most prominent and therefore the most guilty parties.[10] If he is driven out and the opposition or independent voters were wise enough to make him their candidate, in the present state of feeling in the country, I believe he would be triumphantly elected; but that he will be nominated by the Republican organization as their candidate I have not the slightest expectation. Gen. Grant in my opinion stands a better chance for that nomination than any other man.[11] The Republican leaders who rely wholly on party for position will never suffer a man who has exposed the rottenness and corruption of their organization and slaughtered many of its most shining lights, to be the standard bearer. You see I have no hope of reform and purification through the Republican organization. Its power must be broken. Public sentiment in the west so far as I know is unsettled. The people are disatisfied [*sic*], but know not what to do.

Though I have scarcely written three political letters in three years, and none so long as this, I happen at the moment, to have before me a letter from a Gentleman of great influence and prominence asking my opinion as to the propriety of a meeting at an early day, of influential citizens of various states who are not inclined to follow unequivocally either of the two parties, with a view of putting forth certain principles and pledging their support to that party which will adopt them and nominate a proper man to carry them out. If neither party does this, then to call on the people at large to hold a convention and nominate a suitable candidate. I have not yet replied to my friend's letter, but doubt if the time has yet arrived for such a movement. Events are now developing very rapidly, and it may be wise to delay a little, and as the showman says, "see what will come next."

Very truly yours,
LYMAN TRUMBULL

10. Trumbull's prediction of Bristow's removal was accurate. The Secretary, frustrated in the attempt to convict Babcock, was forced to resign in 1876. Denis T. Lynch, *The Wild Seventies* (New York, 1941), 363; Josephson, *Politicos,* 203.

11. The Grant third-term boom had dissipated by convention time. The three leading candidates in early balloting were James G. Blaine, Oliver P. Morton and Bristow. After a deadlock, Ohio Governor Rutherford B. Hayes won on the seventh ballot. Lynch, *Wild Seventies,* 357-58.

LOIS HARTLEY

Edgar Lee Masters — Biographer and Historian

An assistant professor of English at Ball State College, Muncie, Indiana, Lois Hartley received her Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1950; her dissertation was on Edgar Lee Masters. During the 1959-1960 school year Miss Hartley served as dean of women and co-teacher of humanities for the first session of the International School of America, a round-the-world-classroom tour (see Time *magazine, December 14, 1959). She has taught also at the University of Illinois and Ohio State University.*

BY PARENTAGE, by residence, by choice of subject matter, Edgar Lee Masters was an Illinois writer. His paternal background, about which he often wrote, was strongly Illinoisan, and he lived almost all of his first fifty-four years in the state. His early boyhood was spent in Petersburg, where he met Lincoln's former partner, William H. Herndon, who tried law cases in partnership with Masters' father, and where he saw Mentor Graham, the schoolteacher from Lincoln's New Salem. In his later boyhood he lived in Lewistown, in the Spoon River Valley, which supplied material for his most famous book of poetry, *The Spoon River Anthology* (1915). In 1893 he began a career as a lawyer in Chicago, and there he spent the next thirty years. He knew such people famous in the life of Chicago as John Peter Altgeld, Clarence Darrow, Theodore Dreiser, Vachel Lindsay, Harriet Monroe and Carl Sandburg. Although he lived in New York City from 1923 until his death in 1950,

the subject matter of his novels, poems, biographies and such nonfiction as *A Tale of Chicago* (1933) and *The Sangamon* (1942) was principally drawn from his Illinois years. Considerable attention has been given to his career as a novelist and a poet, but less is known about his work as a biographer and historian. Masters published eight books of biography, autobiography and history — all but one dealing specifically with the Illinois area and its people and including studies of such renowned subjects as Lincoln, Lindsay, Whitman and Mark Twain.

Biography and Autobiography

When Masters attended the Lewistown high school, he spent much time reading in the encyclopedias about great men. His interest in biography grew with the years, and he discovered that many great figures of the past needed to be re-created and portrayed by writers who were free from the partisan interest that had distorted many biographies. Masters considered it highly important "that there should be understanding of a country's principal heroes. Not otherwise can a country have its true character."[1] Lee, Jackson, Jefferson, Polk, Andrew Johnson, Jefferson Davis, Whitman, Poe and others had been misrepresented, and Masters admired those biographers who set out to clarify the portraits. His own biographies were a result partly of a desire to present the truth, partly of his interest in the lives of men and partly, perhaps, because of a need for money. His wife, Ellen Coyne Masters, commented, "He turned to biography, so he says, to get money. I don't believe this is true. He had much to say from day to day about anyone

1. Edgar Lee Masters, "Histories of the American Mind," *The American Mercury,* XXXV (July, 1935): 341.

he wrote about; and he was forever reading about these people – Mark Twain, Whitman, etc."[2]

During the last three years of Masters' law partnership (1903-1911) with Clarence Darrow, he obtained much business from the Chicago law firm of Mayer, Meyer, Austrian and Platt and became friendly with Abraham Meyer, a member of the firm. Meyer was Masters' lawyer during his divorce case, lent him money when he could not obtain it from his own family and helped to relieve him "of the burden of alimony after he had given up his property, cash, and all he had except his royalties."[3] The subject of Masters' first biography was Levy Mayer, a brother-in-law of Abe Meyer. According to Ellen Masters, *Levy Mayer and the New Industrial Era* (1927)[4] was written both for money and in gratitude to Abe Meyer. Masters was encouraged to undertake the biography not only by certain persons at Yale, which Mayer had attended, but also by Mrs. Mayer, who paid him handsomely for his work.

Some comment on his motives is necessary when one considers the subject of the biography. Levy Mayer was one of the outstanding corporation lawyers of Chicago and even of the United States. In his book of essays *The New Star Chamber* (Chicago, 1904) Masters had expressed vigorous opposition to monopolistic corporations, had censured federal courts for favoring monopolies and had objected to the methods of chartering corporations. Yet *Levy Mayer* is the story of a man whose legal career was chiefly a fight for the corporations.

In his first two chapters Masters covered Mayer's early

2. In a letter to the author, Aug. 15, 1949.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Fifteen hundred copies of this book were printed by Yale University Press, New Haven, April, 1927.

boyhood, his schooling in Chicago and at Yale, and his years as librarian at the Chicago Law Institute. The account is sketchy, and the details have little human interest. By 1881 Levy Mayer was a member of the firm of Kraus and Mayer, which became by 1908 the firm of Mayer, Meyer, Austrian and Platt. Mayer was fascinated by the spectacle of big business; "and the law, as it applied to business and could be used for the advancement of industry, was his sole occupation of mind and his greatest delight."[5] Most of the biography is a survey of Mayer's career as a lawyer and a summary of his major cases. A lawyer's mind was needed to describe and clarify the issues in these cases, and Masters' training made him competent to organize the material. Mayer was an attorney for the owners of the Iroquois Theater, which burned with tragic consequences on December 30, 1903, and for such famous Chicago packers as J. Ogden Armour. He defended also various liquor interests, both in local courts and in the Supreme Court, in cases concerning wartime prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment. Although Masters generally avoided giving opinions on Mayer's cases, he could state his agreement with Mayer in regard to the constitutionality of prohibition – both believed it unconstitutional.

One chapter is composed almost entirely of quotations from Mayer's speeches, intended to illustrate "his manner of thought and expression upon a considerable variety of subjects."[6] Although Masters made little analysis of these quotations, he chose them skillfully, making clear that Mayer's sympathy was with the moneyed interests. One unfamiliar with Masters' own opinions would not suspect

5. Masters, *Levy Mayer,* 45.
6. *Ibid.,* 147.

how violently he disagreed with Mayer. The latter saw no harm in the late nineteenth-century imperialism of the United States, opposed Bryan and in some respects opposed Altgeld. He believed that corporations should be treated as citizens, considered the cause of states' rights a fetish, believed that government should stimulate trade, advocated *laissez faire* and proposed that more businessmen be sent to representative assemblies. In all these respects, Masters disagreed with Mayer. On the other hand, both favored electrification of the Illinois Central Railroad along Chicago's lake front; and both regarded the League of Nations as dangerous and opposed American membership.

Masters' discussion of Mayer's World War I activities contains faint praise and satiric undertones; he could not approve Mayer's hatred of Germany and most of his comments on the war. Yet Masters did not criticize; he simply omitted personal opinions when he could not praise. By 1922 Mayer was one of the nation's richest lawyers and had one of the finest law firms in Chicago. Broken by responsibility and overwork, he died on August 13, 1922. Masters composed one chapter entirely of quoted tributes and a description of the funeral.

One of the more appealing chapters is titled "Domestic Life"; here the lawyer recedes, and the human, humorous family man emerges. Generally, however, Masters tried to place Mayer in the new era and found him an exponent of his age. He praised Mayer's "professional integrity, loyalty to his country, generosity to the weak and devotion to his friends and family," and called him "a great lawyer and a good man."[7] Although Masters no doubt admired many of Mayer's personal traits, one feels certain that he

7. *Ibid.*, 305.

was restrained in his treatment of Mayer the lawyer.

Masters dedicated his second biography, *Lincoln, the Man* (New York, 1931), "to the Memory of Thomas Jefferson, the preëminent philosopher-statesman of the United States, and their greatest president; whose universal genius through a long life was devoted to the peace, enlightenment and liberty of the union created by the constitution of 1787." This dedication indicates the author's viewpoint: that of a Jeffersonian Democrat, a believer in agrarianism, states' rights and the constitution of delegated powers.

Lincoln, the Man "is not in strictness a biography of Lincoln" but rather "an examination of his mind and nature."[8] Masters acknowledged his debt to Beveridge's and Herndon's lives of Lincoln, but "Beveridge did not argue or interpret; he did not write from any point of view. He merely gathered from every quarter, by the most tireless industry, whatever facts about Lincoln could be found."[9] Masters attempted to analyze the facts, to base arguments upon them.

The biography is iconoclastic, partly because of its author's political background. His own family, like many of the residents of Petersburg and the surrounding area, was ardently Democratic and had little sympathy for Lincoln and the Republican Party. His grandfather, Squire Davis Masters, was elected in 1854 "to the Illinois legislature, where he voted against Lincoln for United States senator because he thought Lincoln's policies would bring on war between the states."[10] He knew Lincoln personally and once

8. *Lincoln,* 1.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Masters, *Across Spoon River: An Autobiography* (New York, 1936), 5. Petersburg people still insist that Masters' grandparents were not at all saddened by the death of Lincoln.

employed Lincoln as his lawyer (who incidentally lost the case). Edgar Lee Masters, as a boy, heard Lincoln tales firsthand from Herndon, Mentor Graham, the McNamars and others. In the Petersburg region Lincoln was regarded at that early date as an ordinary man, not a legendary figure. Nevertheless, in the 1890's Masters "had an admiration for Lincoln, even believing the falsehood that the War Between the States was inevitable and the result of an irrepressible conflict."[11]

After years of studying constitutional history, after tracing the growth of imperialism in the United States and especially after reading Albert Beveridge's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1928), Masters' view changed: "It was Beveridge's book that stirred me to my performance. I could no longer bear to see pharisees, bankers, imperialists hiding behind the deceiving homeliness, the pretended democracy of Lincoln. I wanted to bring Lincoln out into the open where his character and principles would be clear to everyone."[12] Masters admitted the influence of his grandfather but denied that Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln* had "impelled" his work: "His book came out years before mine was written, and at that I never read it and havent to this day."[13]

Lincoln, the Man provoked much editorial comment in which Masters was fiercely attacked.[14] In Petersburg there was talk of chiseling Masters' Ann Rutledge poem from her gravestone, and a bill was introduced in Congress to bar the

11. *Ibid.*, 172.

12. Masters to Theodore Dreiser, April 30, 1940, Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

13. *Ibid.* (Masters almost always left the apostrophes out of contractions, as in this quotation.)

14. See "Defending Honest Abe against Debunkers," *The Literary Digest,* CVIII (Feb. 28, 1931): 34, 36, for a summary of denunciatory reviews.

book from the mails. One of the few basically friendly criticisms was made by Claude Bowers, who pointed out that Masters simply used the same facts that Beveridge had carefully documented but "challenged the myths more defiantly."[15] Among the "myths" which Masters attacked, and which Beveridge had attacked before him, were those holding that Lincoln was an industrious young man who throve on physical labor, that he brooded for years over the plight of Negro slaves and was an abolitionist, that he was a statesman rather than a politician, that he was lovable and warmly human, that he was much superior to Stephen A. Douglas and that he was a completely competent President. Using Beveridge, Masters tried to show that these ideas were unfounded or only partially true. For example, Masters admitted that Lincoln was a fair and honest lawyer in that "his stipulations were reliable; he did not try to deceive the court, and he did not do so. He did not overcharge his clients." On the other hand, he sometimes "over-argued the facts, or used his logic to play with the facts and the law, or resorted to dramatics to win the jury, or made appeals that moved them to tears and washed away what reason they had."[16] Lincoln, he said, would take a case whether or not he was sure that his client was in the right, and he was clever and shrewd in sly political manipulations.

The chapters called "Lincoln's Romantic Adventures" and "Lincoln, the Man" disturb many people, for in them Masters declared that Lincoln was unlovable and cold. He said that Lincoln did not treat his dying father with understanding and pity, that he had no proper affection for his mother, that he was calculating and timid where women were con-

15. Claude Bowers, "Lincoln the Man," *The Saturday Review of Literature,* VII (Feb. 21, 1931): 609.

16. *Lincoln,* 120.

cerned. Like Beveridge, he could find no basis for the story of the love of Ann Rutledge and Lincoln.

Even before Beveridge presented Douglas as an admirable statesman, Masters had been interested in Douglas' career. Masters' novel *Children of the Market Place,* published in 1922, portrayed Douglas as a heroic figure, and in *Lincoln, the Man* he contrasted the two men. In 1939 he commented on this phase of the book:

> If I didnt prove that Douglas was honester and braver and abler than Lincoln I'll eat a hat or anything. Well, I didnt really prove it, for to prove a thing you have to convince people, and that I didnt do. IN the debates with Douglas Lincoln was floored more than once and beaten all in all. . . . Yes, I pointed this out. The result was that people just looked and said nothing, until it occurred to them to say that I was a copperhead.
>
> One thing remains: LIncoln was a poet, and Douglas was not. And though people pay no attention to poetry they give it silent tribute and loud, too, by preferring Lincoln to Douglas. Where would Lincoln be if he had possessed no gift of words beyond that of Millard Fillmore? He would be where Millard is and where James Buchanan is. That's the truth. He would be set down as a country lawyer who stumbled to war victory through the people and Grant. That's all.[17]

Masters found throughout Lincoln's career "a division in his thinking, which sometimes involved him in contradictory statements, and at others in plain solecisms of argument."[18] Thus, Masters said Lincoln acted according to the tenets of Hamilton, but his speeches followed Jefferson. Masters' own analyses of political events, such as the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, the Republican nominating convention and the occurrences leading to the Civil War, showed a thorough understanding of the principles involved but were

17. Masters to Dreiser, Feb. 14, 1939, Dreiser Coll.
18. *Lincoln,* 25.

written entirely from the states' rights viewpoint. His discussions of Lincoln's personal characteristics were not always well considered, and one feels that Masters was making the worst possible interpretation. He found such praiseworthy qualities in the man as his command of language, but, in general, the analysis is fiercely denunciatory and shows the author's idiosyncrasies.

Even Claude Bowers, who gave the book a rational review, found it untrustworthy in regard especially to the war years and the presidency of Lincoln.[19] Masters did not commend Lincoln as a President and did not credit him with patience, common sense, steadfastness or any other of the virtues commonly attributed to him during the war years. He blamed Lincoln for the triumph of industrialism and centralism in the United States, and in the final chapter declared that the Civil War was the end of the Jeffersonian dream and of states' rights. In a letter to Dreiser, Masters summarized his view of Lincoln as stated in the biography:

> He was a stick-bug, he made needless war, he ruined the institution of the republic. He was the main figure of the fake-log cabin, used by centralists, grabbers, monopolists, bankers, Hamiltonians. This is the most dramatic story America has; sometime there will be a great play written around it, such as Shakespeare did around Caesar. But Caesar was a genius; Lincoln a third-rater, all save his gift for deceiving words. . . . In my "Invisible Landscapes" there is a poem called New Salem Hill. That Hill was Lincoln's magic future. It sent him forth acclaiming him the champion of their Americanism. They didnt know any better.[20]

The book can be understood only by understanding Masters' background of Jeffersonian democracy and the Peters-

19. Bowers, "Lincoln the Man," 610.

20. Jan. 2, 1940, Dreiser Coll. See also the letter in the same collection dated Feb. 14, 1939.

burg "realism" concerning Lincoln. As the statement of a point of view, the biography is extraordinarily interesting and even brilliant. Masters marshaled his facts and opinions like a first-class advocate, and the strength of the argument and the eloquence of the statement are impressive.

In 1935, 1937 and 1938 Masters published critical biographies of Vachel Lindsay, Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. He had already shown his tendencies toward literary criticism in such articles as "James Whitcomb Riley"[21] and "The Poetry Revival of 1914."[22] His interest in Lindsay had long been evident. In October, 1926, he published in *The Bookman* a discussion of Lindsay's contribution to American poetry, and in 1933 his "The Tragedy of Vachel Lindsay"[23] was essentially a draft of Chapter XVIII of the Lindsay biography.

Most critics consider *Vachel Lindsay: A Poet in America* (New York, 1935) to be Masters' best biography. No doubt his personal knowledge of Lindsay and his sympathy for Lindsay's problems as an American poet helped Masters to create this notable work. Various people had suggested that he do a book on Lindsay, and Mrs. Lindsay finally requested him to write the life. In addition to furnishing letters, diaries and other documents, she wrote many personal letters to Masters, revealing much about Lindsay's life and problems. He wrote the book, he said,

> in a funny old tumbled down house near Colebrook, Conn. I had a space plowed and raised a wonderful garden that summer, with many flowers. It was all very cheap. The view was heavenly, the air balmy, the sun glorious. And I had wonderful comfort, and fun with an old kitchen with long windows shaped by grape

21. *The Century Magazine,* CXIV (Oct., 1927): 704-15.
22. *The American Mercury,* XXVI (July, 1932): 272-80.
23. *Ibid.,* XXIX (July, 1933): 357-69.

vines, windows that looked toward the hills and along the rocky downs.[24]

Besides receiving help from the Lindsay family, Masters was offered letters from Lindsay to Harriet Monroe, Sara Teasdale and others, but he did not use them:

> I leave to some one else to gather them up. I wanted to explain Lindsay in the terms of his own mind as he emptied it into his diaries etc. Of course letters do that; but I doubt if any letter he wrote would add to an understanding of his mind over that I have given from the sources I consulted. I had copies of many of his letters, very many, which I read carefully. I did not have the time to go out and gather all the letters in and read them. The book was written in thirty days, after two months of reading diaries and making notes.[25]

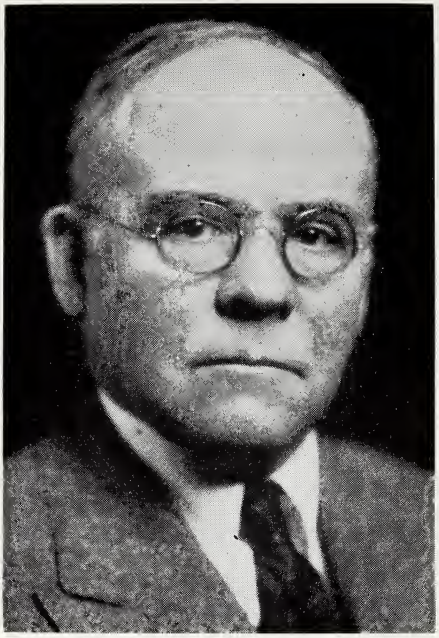
Perhaps Masters' failure to use all types of aid offered him was one reason for the rather unsatisfactory treatment of Lindsay's boyhood. The early chapters are valuable chiefly as a background picture of the period in which Lindsay grew up. Since Masters' purpose was more to study Lindsay's mind and genius than to record outward events, he was especially interested in the poet's college years.

The book contains also a fine picture of Lindsay's poem-peddling on the New York streets; Masters summarized: "The conclusion is inescapable that Lindsay was feeding his vanity on these Quixotic jaunts at night about the streets of New York, and betraying something of an exhibitionism. He was showing no little bravado and gall for a man of sensitive temperament."[26] The chapters on Lindsay's American walking tours are delightfully entertaining, but Vachel Lindsay is as much the author of them as is Masters, who

24. Masters to Dreiser, March 13, 1940, Dreiser Coll.

25. Masters to Harriet Monroe, Feb. 24, 1936, Monroe Collection, University of Chicago. See also Masters to Mrs. George Pierce Baker, Nov. 26, 1935, Yale University Library, New Haven.

26. Masters, *Vachel Lindsay,* 132.



Edgar Lee Masters, as he appeared in about 1931, when his Lincoln, the Man *was published.*

used a combination of diary extracts, paraphrases and brief comment, with paraphrase dominating. Because of his own ideas on independent living, Masters could not approve of Lindsay's beggar philosophy. He considered Lindsay a sort of Johnny Appleseed or lame pilgrim boy.

Masters valued Lindsay's interest in hieroglyphics and Egyptian esotericism and discussed Lindsay's "mysticism" adequately. He made astute estimates of individual poems. Of the best of these poems he said, "They constitute the most considerable body of imaginative lyricism that any American has produced."[27]

The story of Lindsay's final years and death is powerfully and sympathetically told. The concluding chapter is an indictment of the American literary scene — in fact, of the American culture which could bring ruin to such a poet as Lindsay. Masters' own bitterness toward the easy success of certain eastern writers, his anger at the New York literary

27. *Ibid.*, 314-15.

monopoly and his disapproval of magazine dictatorship dominate the chapter.

Sherwood Anderson considered these chapters beautiful and stirring: "He has been writing of his friend. He is moved and angry. I like this kind of healthy male indignation."[28] Masters was indeed indignant and hoped the country would be influenced by his book: "I should like to have my book go about very generally for the good it may do the art of poetry. But I fear that interest in Lindsay is not as active as it should be, and as it would be in England had he been an English poet."[29] He told Harriet Monroe that he wrote the book "for the world at large – for England; and from that angle many things got out of the perspective which would do very well for Chicago – or New York."[30]

Masters and Lindsay both had midwestern backgrounds and struggled for recognition as writers. Masters' understanding of Lindsay's environment increased the worth of the biography, but certain of Masters' personal attitudes, such as his antipathy to organized religion, prevented a completely unbiased analysis. In most cases, however, one can separate Masters' prejudices from the biographical facts, and a notable volume remains. Harriet Monroe called it "one of those profound searchings of the human soul which are rarely to be found in literature or any other art."[31]

Masters' next biography, *Whitman* (New York, 1937), was, like *Lincoln, the Man,* an attempt to clarify a portrait. He wrote to William Lyon Phelps:

I wanted to give a complete picture of Whitman in and out.

28. Sherwood Anderson, "Lindsay and Masters," *The New Republic,* LXXXV (Dec. 25, 1935): 194.
29. Masters to Mrs. Baker, Nov. 26, 1935, Yale University Library.
30. Masters to Monroe, Feb. 24, 1936, Monroe Coll.
31. Harriet Monroe, "The Lindsay Biography," *Poetry,* XLVII (March, 1936): 337.

I went through the Whitman literature, struck at once by the fact that of the many books on him not one covered the whole case. Maybe in putting Whitman's history, his labors, and the workings of his mind in one book, I have made him clearer to America and the world. I hope so.

In 1915 when *Spoon River* came along Powys characterized me as the natural child of Walt Whitman. I have always admired him. His vision of a better and greater America was mine when I began to write at about 17; and in my first book *A Book of Verses,* I celebrated Whitman. But I feel closer to Chaucer and to Browning than to Whitman, for all that. I think they achieved themselves better and more richly, even if they were not as men greater spirits.[32]

Like Masters' other biographies, it is not a true scholarly work. Masters did not always give credit for adapted material and occasionally failed to read a pertinent article. For example, Whitman made reference in his diaries to "16" and "164." Since Masters had evidently not read Edward Hungerford's "Walt Whitman and His Chart of Bumps," he assumed that these numbers referred to women. But Hungerford had provided the real clue to the numbers when he pointed out that Whitman, who was much interested in phrenology, referred to sections on Hope and Acquisitiveness in a contemporary synopsis.[33] On the whole, however, Masters must have read very widely and must have had a broad understanding of his subject.

Many chapters are composed almost entirely of direct quotation from Whitman. Although Masters thus allowed Whitman to reveal himself, he sacrificed space which might have been given to his own interpretation and synthesis. Nevertheless, the book does cover most aspects of Whitman's

32. Masters to William Lyon Phelps, March 23, 1937, Yale University Library.

33. Mark Van Doren, "Plowing through Whitman," *New York Herald Tribune Books,* Feb. 28, 1937, p. 7, points out Masters' omission. Hungerford's article is in *American Literature,* II (Jan., 1931): 350-84.

personality and life. The discussion of his political thought is based on the idea that he "began life as a Jeffersonian Democrat and never, in the main, departed from that faith."[34] Masters assumed that Whitman "doubted the necessity" of the Civil War and pointed out that he "denounced all war with vehement hatred."[35] He was extremely sympathetic toward Whitman's opinions on the postwar United States.

Masters admired Whitman greatly and felt a spiritual kinship with him; yet he observed that Whitman was not adverse to stretching the truth, that he lacked a systematic philosophy, that he was physically lazy, vain and egotistic, that he was mediocre as a newspaperman, that he was not tough-fibered. Further, Masters did not find that Whitman wrote many first-class poems:

> As a great liberal living and writing in America when the land was cursed by superstition and churches — by obscenity and taboos — he cannot be too much thanked and remembered for what he wrote. As a lover, as a prophet of democracy, as a voice raising itself in behalf of comradeship and against that spirit which withdraws, stands aside, is ashamed of tenderness, communion, fellowship — Whitman may prove to be the chief figure in the pattern of American development. This he may be without doing more than he has already done for American poetry. For as things stand, when we read Whitman's declarations that he would sing the songs of America, we are compelled to say for the most part, "very well, go ahead, we are listening."[36]

In this entertaining biography, Masters wrote with humanity and without condescension. Although he was perhaps more objective than in the Lindsay biography, his prejudices still intruded. But in spite of its faults, his ac-

34. Masters, *Whitman,* 269.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.,* 326-27.

count of Whitman is a valuable one. It is human and zealous, and has a significant place among Masters' books, for in it he interprets a man whom he considered one of his teachers.

Masters' fifth and last biography was a critical study of Mark Twain. Making no attempt to write a full and detailed life, he emphasized crucial episodes, sketched in backgrounds and interpreted Mark Twain's major works and attitudes. On page one of *Mark Twain: A Portrait* (New York, 1938) Masters commented that Mark Twain's father was named John Marshall Clemens, rather than Thomas Jefferson Clemens, and suggested that this fact might explain the son's political alliances. He added, "The story of his life will show that his political and economic adherences and associations did much to tangle his rightful career." Masters objected to Mark Twain's lack of interest in the Civil War, to his becoming "de-Southernized," to his advocacy of American acquisition of the Sandwich Islands, to his quiescent attitude toward the Grant administrations. Masters' most serious charge against Mark Twain was that he did not become the satirist of the Gilded Age. Mark Twain touched only the surface evils; in a scene calling for a Swift or a Rabelais, "he walked amid it all, making fun and gathering in money for burlesquing vermin-eaten mountebanks like the Dauphin and the Duke, and letting the big thieves, the real enemies of liberty and beauty, go scot free. He had no real political principles."[37] Immaturity of mind, a failure ever to grow up, partly exonerates him; yet "at the same time it indicts him in his capacity as the satiric mirror of his time."[38] In Mark Twain's *The*

37. Masters, *Mark Twain,* 100.
38. *Ibid.*

Gilded Age Masters found only superficial exposure and jocularity. In his indictment of Mark Twain's political reactions, Masters was serious, honest, bitter and scornful, but again he wrote from a highly partisan viewpoint.

Mark Twain's eagerness to make money, to get rich quick, is emphasized in Masters' biography. His fears, puerility, whims, immature opinions, failure to trust in a cosmic scheme, desultory reading and affiliations are noted:

> He was socially aligned with those who go to church on Sunday and pass the contribution box, and who play vulpine rôles all the rest of the week. As a great satirist and cathartic of American pruriency he missed his chance.[39]

Masters' strictures against Mark Twain's religion are typical of his most fierce invective. In general, Masters saw Mark Twain as "the most tragic victim of the Gilded Age,"[40] as a man who did not live up to his opportunity for service but gave too much time and effort to the acquisition of wealth.

Yet he saw much to admire in Mark Twain's books. *Tom Sawyer* had credibility in atmosphere and psychology and showed Mark Twain's genius; but Masters severely criticized the treatment of Tom and Becky's childhood romance, the burlesque passages, the conclusion of the book and the dialect faults. Reared in much the same country as Mark Twain, familiar with the Illinois river towns, interested in stories about boys, Masters was obviously suited by background to judge Mark Twain's books about boys, and his criticism is valuable. *The Mysterious Stranger* received the most praise of all Mark Twain's books; it is a "supreme tale, a work of marvellous [*sic*] imagination, and wrought out in language full of energy and eloquence."[41]

39. *Ibid.*, 199.
40. *Ibid.*, 238.
41. *Ibid.*, 221.

Fred Lorch said that much of Masters' estimate was summarization of other writers, particularly Van Wyck Brooks and A. B. Paine, or at least derived from them, and that Masters presented a distorted portrait partly because he ignored recent scholarly research.[42] His workmanship was frequently inaccurate, and he garbled quotations.[43] Lorch summarized the faults of Masters' *Mark Twain* as "inaccurate reporting, unwarranted assumptions, and a confused philosophy," and declared that the book "does not deserve serious scholarly attention."[44]

Lorch's estimate is just if one considers *Mark Twain* purely as a factual study; yet one enjoys many of the chapters because of their vigor, enthusiasm, shrewdness and earnestness. In April, 1938, Masters wrote to William Lyon Phelps, thanking him for a clipping on *Mark Twain*[45] and commenting on the book:

> I know you dont agree with me about Twain, and in truth I was very admiring of him all in all, until I looked into his record, which you know as well as I. We dont construe the record in the same way, and that is one of the human things in literary appraisal, and in law courts in matters of evidence and law.[46]

In addition to writing five biographies in the years 1927-1938, Masters wrote the first part of his autobiography, *Across Spoon River* (1936).[47] This volume is a detailed

42. Review of *Mark Twain* in *American Literature,* X (Nov., 1938): 374-75.

43. *Ibid.,* 375. Lorch presented a list of inaccuracies.

44. *Ibid.,* 376.

45. "I dont take clippings. I wait until they are all in, and then maybe I go to the publishers and read them. So thanks to you for the courtesy of sending this to me." Masters to Phelps, April 14, 1938, Yale University Library.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Ellen Coyne Masters told the author that the second half of the autobiography had been written; her husband left its publication to her discretion.

account of his life until 1917, his forty-eighth year. He showed little restraint in telling his story; his chief reserve seems to have been in not naming those with whom he associated. His law partner from 1903 to 1911 (Clarence Darrow) is never mentioned by name, although Masters had much to say about him. Masters discussed over fifteen love affairs, but he listed the women under fictitious names; his first wife, for example, is the Golden Aura, and Tennessee Mitchell appears to be Deirdre. Masters wrote that from the age of six he had been "carried along by an ecstasy about women, and filled with wonder and reverence for them as embodiments of mysterious beauty. The pursuit of the eternal feminine was deeply fated in my nature. . . . The search was destined never to end."[48] Later he said:

> Beauty in women was one manifestation of the divine influences that controlled the world, and as mystical as they were. At the same time I had never been able to see anything wrong in erotic indulgence. On that subject I was as emancipated as an animal; while beauty in women had filled my heart with mystical adorations since I was six years old.[49]

The emphasis in *Across Spoon River* on this aspect of Masters' life is perhaps disproportionate.

As a record of life in a midwestern village during the 1870's, 1880's and early 1890's, *Across Spoon River* is excellent. Masters' membership in the Fulton County Scientific Association, his part in the discussions centering in the rooms of a high-school teacher, Mary Fisher, and his literary and philosophical studies with various friends reflect the village culture and are a chapter in the history of his intellectual life. The account of Masters' Chicago years also depicts labor conditions, the growth of the city, the

48. Masters, *Across Spoon River,* 170-71.
49. *Ibid.,* 250.

excitement of the Bryan campaigns. On the whole, however, *Across Spoon River* was not intended as a social document but as a personal story. According to Ellen Masters, her husband wrote this book and other autobiographical works "so that some of his side of the story would be known."[50]

Across Spoon River is invaluable in studying Masters' other books, prose and poetry alike. In it one can find the origin of almost every theme and plot he used and can read the story of his search for literary success. In the lives of Masters and his father, "the progress is from simplicity and self-security to complexity and doubt."[51] The autobiography shows this progress and also sketches a literary era. In spite of occasionally inept prose, Masters' autobiography is a candid and interesting self-revelation, a primary source for literary history and a social record of midwestern life.

History

Masters wrote two books which may be classified as histories – *The Tale of Chicago* (New York, 1933) and *The Sangamon* (New York, 1942). His opinion of Chicago was variable. In October, 1915, he wrote to Dreiser that he was finding the city more wasteful and intolerable all the time.[52] A week later he said, "423 years ago to-day Columbus discovered America. What made him do it. Except for Columbus I wouldn't have been born in Illinois or Kansas!"[53] On the other hand, he told Harriet Monroe in June, 1922, that Fanny Butcher's comments in the *News* (*Tribune*?) about his disliking Chicago and declaring it no literary center were untrue and malicious. His explanation was that

50. In a letter to the author, Aug. 15, 1949.
51. Robert E. Spiller, review of *Across Spoon River* in *American Literature,* IX (March, 1937): 102.
52. Oct. 5, 1915, Dreiser Coll.
53. Masters to Dreiser, Oct. 12, 1915, Dreiser Coll.

he had been interviewed, had admitted disliking some things about Chicago, but had "said in all instances that the very things I disliked about Chicago were good for me and stimulated my writing."[54] Three years later he wrote Miss Monroe that he could not return to Chicago. "Socially Chicago never was much to me; New York is not, though I could tea and dine all the time if people knew where I was." He continued in the same letter: "New York is gay and free, and that recommends it; for Chicago is reform cursed and under tyrranies [*sic*] of all sorts, and cliques and spites of the village spire. But I dont like New York with all my heart. . . . That man is fortunate who lives where his father lived and where he knows everyone."[55]

All these references to the city were in personal letters, but in 1928 David Karsner included in *Sixteen Authors to One* a statement by Masters, who called Chicago "the city of exquisite torture." When asked why he returned there, he replied, "Why did Dante stay in Florence?" He answered his own question: "Because it was his particular hell. Chicago is mine. It is therefore my stimulant to work. I dislike it so actively that it acts as an irritant. To escape Chicago I seek refuge in my work there."[56] Harriet Monroe recorded conversely in 1938 that Masters once wrote to her: "Chicago fascinates me ever and ever. Oh, this is quite a magical place! And what may it not yield when the right imagination does La Salle, Marquette, the Green Bay country, and Michigan! I love it hereabouts intensely."[57] Yet as late as

54. Masters to Monroe, June 22, 1922, Monroe Coll.
55. June 9, 1925, Monroe Coll.
56. David Karsner in *Sixteen Authors to One* (New York, 1928), 132, quotes Masters.
57. Harriet Monroe in *A Poet's Life* (New York, 1938), 381, quotes Masters. *Cf.* Masters' "The American Background," *The Nation,* CXXI (Aug. 26, 1925): 227.

May, 1943, Masters wrote Dreiser: "Do you remember that in about 1907 I wrote you a fan letter out of a clear sky about that book [*Sister Carrie*]? At that time I was in the midst of the filth and swinishness of Chicago life, and I knew that you had the story. I have been devoted to you ever since."[58] In addition, he included lines on Chicago in "The Seven Cities of America" (in *The Serpent in the Wilderness* and *Invisible Landscapes*), in *The New World* and in other books, both prose and poetry. He was continually fascinated by the spectacle of Chicago.

Masters' first extensive treatment of that city in a prose publication had appeared in 1928 in an article, "Chicago: Yesterday, To-day and To-Morrow,"[59] which reads like a preview of his nonfiction, historical *The Tale of Chicago.*

In this book Masters emphasized the story of Chicago's growth from 1830 to 1933. He sketched the background of the city — such events as the first explorations, the building of the fort, the arrival of early settlers and the Fort Dearborn massacre of April, 1812 — but the book was devoted principally to the economic aspect of Chicago's history, to changes in transportation methods and in the appearance of the city and to the activities of such builders of Chicago as John Kinzie, William B. Ogden and the McCormicks.

Masters was critical of such things as the Chicago transportation system, and he gibed at American cities in general: "Like most American cities, Chicago was designed as if human beings always wanted to be walking. . . . There were never cafés as in Paris out on the sidewalks shaded by awnings where men and women could sit and talk and partake of refreshments."[60]

58. May 5, 1943, Dreiser Coll.
59. *The Century Magazine,* CXVI (July, 1928): 283-94.
60. Masters, *The Tale of Chicago,* 197.

He did not entirely neglect cultural history, for *The Tale of Chicago* has sections on newspapers, magazines and theaters, but the literary movements are not adequately treated, and *Poetry* magazine is not even mentioned. Chicago is shown as a cultural province of Boston and New York.

Generally, Masters succeeded in presenting vivid pictures of Chicago at successive periods in its history. His account of the Great Fire of 1871 is the high point of his narrative, although the chapters dealing with Chicago in the 1890's and early 1900's are more valuable. Masters arrived in Chicago in 1892 and soon was familiar with most of the city. Some of his descriptions are obviously nostalgic memory pictures: the sections on Milwaukee Avenue, on State Street, on the life of newly arrived country youths and on the World's Fair of 1893.

Masters' political opinions entered into this book, too, as into his others. Douglas again receives high praise, while Lincoln receives little. Altgeld is a hero, but Cleveland is condemned for sending troops to Chicago during the Pullman strike and thus infringing on states' rights. Labor is championed, and capitalists are only occasionally praised. In one chapter Masters compares Al Capone and Samuel Insull:

> Insull descended to the depths or rose winnowing to the surface of Chicago's waters, looking for whole cities and states to devour. Capone kept to the estuary of Cicero, a town of sixty thousand or so west of Chicago, where he was satisfied with minnows and frogs. Both used the same fins and jaws; both had the same unappeasable hunger. One was a man-eating shark, the other a frog-eating dogfish. They had homologous bodies, and shared the instincts of predatory creatures.[61]

The eloquent final chapter of *The Tale of Chicago* is in some respects an analysis of American civilization. Masters

61. *Ibid.*, 308.

found Chicago lacking in "the right sort of intellectual activity widely spread."[62] By 1933, he said, the city had reached "a climacteric of intellect concerning itself with business and money; and little else could be expected when leading statesmen, expressing themselves in terms of religion and politics, declared that the business of government was business."[63] Masters believed that not only must Americans reach toward Jeffersonian economic ideals, but individual cities like Chicago must give more aid to the artist, must cease to starve the artist spiritually.

Although *The Tale of Chicago* must not be taken as a completely dependable factual document, it is very readable, and Masters' firsthand knowledge of the city and his personal interpretation compensate for ill-proportioned chapters and for uneven historical narrative.

Masters' other historical study, *The Sangamon* (1942), grew out of his interest in the Petersburg–New Salem area. Such poems as "New Salem Hill" in *Invisible Landscapes* had indicated this interest, as had sections in *Jack Kelso, Lincoln* and other books. In March, 1939, Masters wrote Dreiser that he had written a New Salem piece for which he had trouble finding a purchaser and that he could not get a publisher for a proposed book on the New Salem culture.[64] But his chance to tell of the New Salem country came in 1942 when he contributed *The Sangamon* to the *Rivers of America* series.

The Sangamon River of central Illinois is "not navigable, not noted for its commercial activity, not distinguished for majestic scenery, nor for a battle, nor for a single historic event, distinguished for nothing but for good and useful

62. *Ibid.*, 343.
63. *Ibid.*, 336.
64. March 13, 1939, Dreiser Coll.

lives lived along its shores, and for the beauty of its prairies that sleep and bloom and wave their grasses to the passing winds."[65] Thus, Masters told the story of the Sangamon by describing the people who lived in the area and made the little, shallow river a part of the American imagination. In memory he traveled all over central Illinois, not limiting his scene to the course of the river. In spite of irrelevant detail and incidents, he produced an evocative, lyrical, nostalgic record.

Even the names of the people and the villages fascinated him. "Wafts from the very soil come up with those names, as well as from accounts of the fish fries, camp meetings, and the stories of Clary's Grove and New Salem."[66] In the settlers of the Sangamon Valley, with their Virginia-Kentucky background, he found adherence to the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson. He felt that these influences plus that of the prairie shaped the settlers of the Sangamon country so that "no breed of people in the whole land was ever more individual, more distinguished by strength and courage, by good will and hospitality, by industry and the independent spirit."[67] Masters appreciated the spirit of the people and the prairie atmosphere; he succeeded admirably in depicting the peculiar beauty of a prairie landscape.

Among the towns and cities mentioned are Peoria, Springfield, Decatur and such villages as Pleasant Plains, but mostly he devoted his book to the most significant neighborhood of the valley — the New Salem country. Although most people think that the Lincoln legend imparted the greatest charm to New Salem, Masters had a contrary view: "Lincoln's life at first was as slow as the River, and it got lodged,

65. Masters, *The Sangamon,* 235.
66. *Ibid.,* 6.
67. *Ibid.,* 15.

only to be freed and sent on to the great sea of history. The people lifted his boat over the dam, the people lifted him to the presidency, the belief that he was of the blood of the New Salem people constitutes the sweetest part of his renown."[68] The gathering of homogeneous souls at New Salem, their reception of and influence on Lincoln and the decay of the village seemed to Masters a uniquely American story. He saw the village as an America which might have been, as the type of country that Jefferson envisioned, as "one of the most beautiful spots in Illinois, or in America."[69] In dealing with New Salem as it was and as it is now in replica,[70] Masters mentioned some people with a degree of fame; among them are Peter Cartwright, Jack Kelso, whom Masters considered "perhaps the most interesting man of all the New Salem people,"[71] and Ann Rutledge, whose story had much charm for him in spite of his skepticism. His poetic sketches of neighborhood folk include John Armstrong, John McNamar and the "natural," Bill McNamar. One of the most interesting chapters is about Dreiser's visit to John Armstrong, brother of Duff and son of Hannah.[72]

Perhaps Masters' favorite of the pioneer settlers of the Sangamon region was his grandfather, Squire Davis Masters, who came to Illinois in 1829 and moved to the Petersburg neighborhood in 1847. Squire Masters seemed typical of

68. *Ibid.,* 152.

69. *Ibid.,* 160.

70. See Masters' article "Abe Lincoln's New Salem," *The Rotarian,* LXIV (Feb., 1944): 32-33, in which the New Salem restoration is described. Masters hoped to sell *The Sangamon* for use in Hollywood. "As the village of New Salem has been restored in replica on the banks of the Sangamon the spot is ready for the camera right now; and my book, The Sangamon has materiel [*sic*] enough" – Masters to Dreiser, June 30, 1943, Dreiser Coll.

71. *The Sangamon,* 155-56.

72. See Masters, "Dreiser at Spoon River," *Esquire,* XI (May, 1939): 66 ff.

the Menard County people and of the ideal Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democrat. He and his wife, Lucinda, gave the Sandridge precinct its peculiar character and "helped to make the other people like them, a people whose religious adorations were clear and sweet as the fields, and utterly alien to incense and ritual."[73] The passages on Squire Masters and the Concord Church religion of love may be idealized but are moving. Masters could regret the passing of this type of worship.

The Sangamon reflects a mellower attitude than do most of Masters' books. Again he declared himself against the tariff, big business, the bank, Republicans, wars, mercantilism and the changing republic, but his tone had less irony and rancor. The style is quietly conversational. One chapter begins, "Let's go to Sandridge, and see Oakford, where Porky Jim Thomas slumbers under weeds on a sand hill."[74] Autobiography intrudes into the rambling narrative; some passages are irrelevant or awkwardly written; and the book as a whole is almost without recognizable organization. Yet many passages are poetically expressed and represent Masters' best prose style. About a dozen poems, taken from *Invisible Landscapes, Poems of People, More People* and *Along the Illinois,* are scattered throughout the book.

The Sangamon was Masters' last published book. It belongs with *Illinois Poems* and *Along the Illinois* as a celebration of the region of Masters' boyhood: "Naturally the country possessed my imagination, and it does so to this day. It may be that I idealize it, but at any rate it has a magical appeal to me quite beyond my power to describe. I loved the people there then and I love their memory."[75]

73. *The Sangamon,* 30.
74. *Ibid.,* 85.
75. *Ibid.,* 116.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

From October 20 to December 7, 1910, John Batchelor of Eureka, Kansas, was busily engaged in copying the diary of his Civil War experiences because the "original had got wet and torn." This record was recently presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by Dean Batchelor of Newport Beach, California.

John Batchelor served as a private in Company I, Seventy-eighth Illinois Infantry from August, 1862, to June, 1865, after enlisting at Macomb for a three-year period. The diary includes his accounts of Chickamauga, Chattanooga and Atlanta. Batchelor felt that casualties in his group were quite high, and his June 21, 1865, entry noted, "Our regiment now returns with 334 men all told. Recruits and all. When we left Quincy Ills. 3 years ago we left with 1100 men."

Robert W. Mayer of Urbana has placed on deposit at the Library the records of the meetings of the Old Settlers' Association of Logan County for the years 1873-1911. Information in the 202-page volume consists of the association's minutes and a long list of early settlers in the area.

The life of a hard-working Sangamon County farmer from 1860 to 1907 is described in the diaries of Philomen Stout, Jr. A complete account of his day-to-day activities is given in twenty-nine pocket-size volumes, and practically every penny he spent or earned is noted as well.

On May 4, 1865, Stout tells of a trip to Springfield: "Went to Springfield to Lincoln's funeral there there was the largest procession & the most pomp & display I ever saw. Spent $1. very warm & threaten rain. heard a discourse by bishop Simpson very eloquent but ultra abolition." Usually little mention is made of significant national events. The following notation for April 19, 1861, indicates what was most important to Stout on that day: "Went to Springfield the excitement very great raising volunteers to fight the South fighting in Baltimore today. a good many killed paid $1 for Cynthia shoes Mr. Walters brought his steer I am 39 years old to day put two calves in Sam Shoups pasture I am 39 years old to day". So started the Civil War for one man.

Bernard Wax

Book Reviews

WHY THE NORTH WON THE CIVIL WAR
By David Donald, ed.; Richard N. Current; T. Harry Williams; Norman A. Graebner; David M. Potter. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1960. Pp. xiii, 129. $2.95.)

Now that the centennial of the Civil War is with us — perhaps too much with us — lecture series of one kind or another are popping up all over the land. Some of these are very worthwhile; others will be merely warmed-over speeches by bored speakers. But the Gettysburg College Civil War conferences have set a high standard for these series. For several years now these conferences have been enabling a small but select group of academic and nonacademic historians to voice their opinions.

Why the North Won the Civil War presents five lectures given at these meetings. It will never make the best-seller lists, it presents no new documentation or research, but it does provide partial analyses of the very serious question of how the war was won and lost. Five of the leading Civil War authorities have produced able, concise and understandable papers. There is a few hours' serious thought here for any Civil War student.

It might be wished that it had been possible to print the comments of some of the talented observers along with the lectures. This would have made the volume of even more value. For these remain basically lectures, with the usual weaknesses inherent when such are published. They would sound more exciting than they read, and would read better if the undoubtedly pungent comments of those present when they were read at Gettysburg were included.

Richard Current in "God and the Strongest Battalions" presents the thesis that the North simply had too much of everything: manpower, manufacturing, agriculture, transportation, finances and a much more well-rounded economy with which to fight a war. He states the "prime cause must have been economic." It is hard to disagree with him. The North never extended itself in any direction as far as the South was forced to do — there always was a little margin left, so much left, in fact, that Northern economy *expanded* during the war. The figures go a long way to prove the case; Current could have made these even more impressive. As we see it today, Southern victory could not have been in the cards, except perhaps, as Current wisely admits, through foreign intervention or a military disaster. Even then it is hard to see how there could have

been a military defeat that disastrous. But one must bear in mind that the South did not see these figures clearly then, and many historians do not seem to see them clearly now. Current does.

T. Harry Williams in "The Military Leadership of North and South" continues his emphasis on the influence of the Jominian theories of war on military leadership. In this he touches a vital chord. Yet probably more important than military theory is his point that Southern military leadership did not grow, at least to the extent of that of the North. The trial-and-error system of the North seemed on the surface to have prolonged the war, but in the end it "brought forward generals who were able to grow and who could employ new ways of war." Williams might have pointed out that the North could afford this system and that back of the generals stood the great manpower and economic potential of the North, whereas the South had to rely much more on grit and creative leadership. Generals, no matter how capable, must have enough to fight with.

Williams is on strong ground, though, when he points out that the defensive necessity of the South to defend its borders was the worst strategy possible and played into the hands of the North whose "cordon offense was the best strategy for the North." Not only was it best for the North, it was made possible by superior strength. But how the South could have waged anything but a defense of its citadel is hard to imagine. It was fighting for independence, for survival, for life against all the elements confronting it. Militarily it was doomed from the beginning and even its great captains could not save it.

Norman Graebner in "Northern Diplomacy and European Neutrality" points up the idea that "Europe's involvement in the American Civil War comprised a persistent danger to the Union." Undoubtedly about the only hope for the South was foreign involvement, and, as he shows, that hope was at times fairly bright, but only on the surface. Europe was, as always, slow to respond and stood watching for irrefutable evidence of the South's actual independence. That evidence never developed to their satisfaction. As Graebner puts it, "Except for one fleeting period in 1862, neither Britain nor France revealed any serious intention of breaking from their own past and assuming commitments which would endanger their territorial and commercial interests in the New World."

David Donald in "Died of Democracy" presents quite a new thesis. He gives evidence of what he feels was excessive democracy in the Confederate Army, such as the election of officers, lax discipline and a generally inde-

pendent attitude. He admits that the North had these problems also but feels they were not as disastrous. Perhaps they were not, but probably only because there was sufficient manpower to overcome them. The South had to make do with its unscreened manpower; it could not weed out inferior soldiers through the trial of battle and find new men to take their places. Donald also states that "in civil rights, too, the South had an astonishingly libertarian record." Yet, even with that record, there were those who said it was not democratic enough. "The real weakness of the Confederacy," writes Donald, "was that the Southern people insisted upon retaining their democratic liberties in wartime." If this is so, then a true democracy can never fight a successful war! It is hoped that Donald will expand on this theme, but at the moment this reviewer must await stronger evidence.

David M. Potter, in "Jefferson Davis and the Political Factors in Confederate Defeat," disagrees with the economic thesis of Northern victory. Instead, he in part blames Jefferson Davis for having failed in his relations with Confederate leaders and the people, in his concept of his task, and in "his specific handling of his politico-military role as commander in chief." In these Lincoln was superior, Potter avows, and there are few who would disagree with him. But the question remains unanswered — did the South have anyone near the caliber of Lincoln, and even if they had had, would that have been enough?

Potter also presents the thought that the South may have suffered from its lack of a two-party system. Quite possibly, but seldom does a new nation have a two-party system overnight. Nations aren't born that way. A party system was inevitable in the South, had its independence lasted long enough. The Southern defeat in the Civil War may be one reason the two-party system has not revived in the South to the extent it existed before 1860.

All the papers are capable, thought-provoking, and must be heard. They are opinions of learned historians, and it is hoped they will evoke considered comment and further, more detailed analysis.

E. B. Long
Oak Park

THE CRUSADE AGAINST SLAVERY, 1830-1860
By Louis Filler. (Harper's: New York, 1960. Pp. 318. $5.00.)

In this volume Louis Filler has addressed himself to a subject considerably broader than the title suggests. The author, professor of American civilization at Antioch College, examines the three decades preceding the Civil War which constituted, if not an era

of reform, at least a time in which agitation for reform was widespread. It was not, however, a period of specialization. Reformers did not work exclusively for their own special interests, be they temperance, education, prison reform or abolition. "Respect for the rights of the individual," combined with "a compulsion to probe, to question, and to agitate," marked all true reformers during these decades and impelled them to make common cause. Abolition, claims Dr. Filler, became "the reform of reforms," but it was abetted by other reform movements and their chief advocates. Thus this book, one of the *New American Nation* series, not only traces the crusade against slavery but also attempts to relate it to the struggles for other reform goals.

Such an analysis is, at times, illuminating. For example, the temperance movement, according to the author, helped give some abolitionists, otherwise regarded by the general public as fanatics, a respectability that increased their effectiveness, while the appellation of alcoholism as "white slavery" brought further disrepute to Negro slavery. Occasionally abolitionists gave a boost to other reform movements. Although the American Anti-Slavery Society had been divided for several years over the advisability of political action, the actual withdrawal from the organization in 1840 of those willing to support only a "moral crusade" occurred over the question of electing a woman to the business committee. The lady — and the political abolitionists — carried the day, giving impetus to the start of a full-fledged woman's suffrage movement.

Mention of virtually every "ism" and "ology" of the period can be found in the text, no matter how seemingly tenuous their connection to the antislavery movement. Such a mass of material requires skillful organization, a quality, unfortunately, too often missing from this volume. In the thirty pages of Chapter 6, for example, the reader is confronted in rapid succession with Brook Farm, Orestes A. Brownson, spiritualism, phrenology, the Oneida Community, church schisms, Garrison's attitude toward women's rights, the Grimké sisters and the split in the American Anti-Slavery Society. In such a potpourri the crusade against slavery is frequently lost from view.

Professor Filler is one of those historians who tend to play down the effective role of the western abolitionists and who see Garrison as "the seminal figure in antislavery." Illinoisans may be disappointed in the brief mention made of their two great debaters Lincoln and Douglas (but then they were hardly radical reformers) and astounded to read that Elijah Lovejoy "was a bigot who believed . . . that slavery was a

papist product." As the author candidly remarks, this is a view that hitherto "has entirely passed notice." The martyred Lovejoy's brother Owen is described merely as one of a group of "rugged abolitionists." Professor Filler has, in this book, rescued many lesser antislavery men from obscurity. Surely he could have made more of Owen, whose activities were not inconsequential.

The bibliographical essay is extensive and should be a valuable guide to those wishing to read further on the subject, although this reviewer was surprised at the omission of Ralph Korngold's *Two Friends of Man* and Benjamin P. Thomas' *Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom*. And in his footnote on the Kansas-Nebraska Act the author should have mentioned (surely he did consult) Roy F. Nichols' article, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act: A Century of Historiography," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of September, 1956. Also *re* Douglas the author does commend George Fort Milton's outstanding study *The Eve of Conflict* but fails to note Allan Nevins' fine article, "Stephen A. Douglas: His Weaknesses and His Greatness," which appeared in this *Journal* in December, 1949.

Two errors in the text need comment. Abraham Lincoln delivered his "House Divided" speech June 16, 1858, not June 17 (page 266). And what a shock to read (page 245) that Schuyler Colfax "was to be Lincoln's second Vice-President." The Honorable Mr. Colfax was Vice-President during Ulysses S. Grant's first presidential term, while Lincoln's second Vice-President later became President Andrew Johnson.

To conclude on a positive note, every reader should bow down and give thanks to Harper's for placing the footnotes where they belong — at the bottom of the page, a practice as rare these days as it is welcome.

PHYLLIS E. CONNOLLY
Stamford, Connecticut

BEDFORD FORREST AND HIS CRITTER COMPANY
By Andrew Lytle. (McDowell, Obolensky: New York, 1960. Pp. 402. $5.95.)

"There will never be peace in Tennessee until Forrest is dead!" wrote an infuriated Sherman to the Secretary of War following Forrest's victory at Brice's Cross-Roads. This book is the story of the Confederate cavalry wizard who gave Sherman cause for such a statement. It is the story, too, of how the General's ability went virtually unrecognized by Southern leaders for three years, although seemingly the North acknowledged it all along. This

new edition of a volume that was originally published in 1931 contains practically no changes in the text.

The author has here a subject both infinitely simple and infinitely complex. And his enthusiasm for Forrest is understandable, if not wholly justified, because he demonstrated the practical use of cavalry — an arm of the military service now obsolete and then improperly utilized. His "mounted infantry" earned him the respect of most military leaders of his day, and many since then.

Forrest coupled perspicacity and stubbornness with the physical courage to ride roughshod over friend or foe. In battle he was a flurry of activity — it is really not important whether, once when surrounded, he actually gave the order to "charge both ways." It would have been typically Forrest. The man was crude in conduct as well as in speech, but he agreed with Sherman in his judgment of war.

The author does go a little far out, it seems, in excusing Forrest's actions after the war as leader of the Klan, which Lytle sees as the savior of the "Culture of the South."

It may have been necessary to interrupt the tale to explain background and to justify present acts, but Lytle's book is weakened by continual interruptions which amount to complaints about the mistreatment of "the wizard" by President Davis and General Braxton Bragg. Aditional observations that carry the author into evaluations of a variety of subjects may be within the prerogative of a writer, but they seem to transcend the proper objective of the biography.

The book has no footnotes, and the general Civil War bibliography suggests that it was not written for a scholar's consideration. If one can ignore these shortcomings, plus a tendency to use direct quotations without acknowledging the source, he will find this a rather comprehensive study of Forrest's war record.

Robert Sterling
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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES: THE CIVIL WAR YEARS

By Robin W. Winks. (The Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1960. Pp. 430. $6.50.)

To describe this book by Professor Winks as definitive is indeed an understatement. *Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years,* as the author reveals in his preface, is an elaboration of his doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University. The book is obviously an exhaustive study of relations between the two neigh-

boring countries during the war years. There is much in it for the reader interested in certain specialized fields such as diplomatic history, Canadian history, and Anglo-American relations during the 1860's. William H. Seward's admirers and detractors will also find the book most useful.

Author Winks's account of the *Trent* affair is both interesting and exhaustive. This reviewer was fascinated by the number and ingeniousness of the various Confederate schemes plotted and executed from across the border.

In general, however, *Canada and the United States* is recommended for the specializing scholar rather than the general Civil War buff. Professor Winks is to be congratulated for producing a most solid and scholarly work.

L. M. Hamand
Eastern Illinois University

A CIVIL WAR TREASURY OF TALES, LEGENDS AND FOLKLORE

Edited by B. A. Botkin. (Random House: New York, 1960. Pp. 625. $7.95.)

Editor Botkin calls his book "a collective saga of the human side of the Civil War, its typical experiences, heroes, traditions, myths, legends, fables, foibles, images and symbols reflecting the American imagination at work (in a mingling of fact and fantasy) on the stuff of our most American war."

He has combed through a great variety of source material — regimental histories, letters, diaries, newspapers, pamphlets and periodicals — and has selected more than 330 articles ranging in length from a quarter of a page to three pages, with a very few running longer than that.

The articles are arranged chronologically in six chapters — one for each of the war years and one for the postwar period — and these are further divided into sections by subjects. Thus the reader has a "sidelight" history of the war as it progressed. Many of the authors of these stories are entirely anonymous, more are the unknown people who did the fighting and suffering — the privates and corporals, and the women behind the lines — but there are also a number who are well known, for one reason or another, such as Generals William T. Sherman, Philip H. Sheridan and James Longstreet, Major Henry Kyd Douglas, John Hay, Ida M. Tarbell, Ward Hill Lamon, George C. Eggleston, Ambrose Bierce, Walt Whitman and, the author of the last article in the book, Alben W. Barkley.

In order to appeal to the largest possible audience the editor has

kept a variety of subjects in balance — North and South, soldiers and officers, military and civilian, serious and humorous and several more. At times this makes it necessary to include a mediocre tale that could just as well have been omitted.

Each chapter, except the last one, has a Lincoln section. Chapter One, for instance, consists of Joseph Howard's account of Lincoln's overnight trip from Harrisburg to Washington, several short pieces by Julia Taft Bayne, General W. T. Sherman's story of a visit by Lincoln to Fort Corcoran, Virginia, an account of Lincoln's pardoning of a young Vermont soldier who had been sentenced to be shot for sleeping on picket duty, and an episode involving a bet between two southerners about whether one of them would shake hands with Lincoln. Thus the group represents a typical collection and includes the whole gamut of the balancers.

All of this adds up to a Civil War book that the reader can open at random. If he doesn't find something to suit his mood of the moment, he can read a page or two and he will. It is a thick book with adequate notes and a good index. Since it is not strictly a shooting-war book, it should interest an even wider audience than the histories of the generals and the battles. H.F.R.

EMOTION AT HIGH TIDE: ABOLITION AS A CONTROVERSIAL FACTOR, 1830-1845

By Henry H. Simms. (Moore and Company, Inc.: Baltimore, 1960. Pp. vi, 243. $5.00.)

The title of this book is somewhat misleading, for though the antislavery movement did indeed generate plenty of emotion, little of it is reflected in these pages. The author has written a totally unimpassioned account of the fifteen most important years of the slavery controversy. His work appears to be a model of objective scholarship, and, considering the strong feelings slavery and abolition can still engender, that in itself is no small accomplishment; yet, however commendable the author's detachment may be, some readers will certainly doubt that an account which so successfully omits the drama from history presents an altogether valid picture of the past.

Readers especially interested in Illinois history will find few references to events in this state. The riots at Alton are mentioned, however, and the use that eastern abolitionists made of Elijah P. Lovejoy's martyrdom is alluded to.

The book's purpose is not to trace or explain the origin, growth and organization of the antislavery movement but rather to describe

the many controversies slavery and abolition gave rise to. Thus the study necessarily traverses some very familiar ground. In the first four chapters, for example, which narrate the appearance of abolition and the hostile reaction to it, little new information or interpretation appear. On the other hand, the treatment of the Texas question is more thorough than can be found in most earlier books on the antislavery movement. One might note, however, that the account of that issue appears somewhat foreshortened by the author's decision to focus on the events of the 1840's and to minimize the important role Texas played in the controversies of the 1830's.

Although this study presents little that is startlingly new, it does serve to reaffirm (if reaffirmation is needed) the generally held impressions that slavery was a divisive subject and that those who argued about it — whichever side they took — could be unpleasant, contentious people. One of the important results of their agitation, the author concludes, was to create "an unhealthy emotional climate which boded ill for the future of the nation."

MERTON L. DILLON
Texas Technological College

"SOME OF THE BOYS . . .": THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF ISAAC JACKSON, 1862-1865

Edited by Joseph O. Jackson, with a Foreword by Bell I. Wiley. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1960. Pp. xx, 264. $6.50.)

This collection of the letters of a young Ohio private is particularly interesting because he wrote at length about the minutiae of soldier life.

Here one learns of such diverse subjects as drinking coffee ("I have a large cup that holds nearly 2 qts. I now can manage that full 2 times a day, and sometimes 3 of them in a day." Page 21), the price of footwear ("They got $30 for boots in CS scrip and then sold the scrip for ½ the price. They charge $10 now for boots and $4 for stogy shoes [brogans]." Page 24), treatment for "Constipation of the Bowels" (". . . then they gave me a dose of salts and that did no good and two other doses and then a dose of rhubarb before I was relieved." Page 25), the attrition of war ("One year ago our brigade numbered 5,000 men fit for duty. Today it numbers but 500. That within itself tells a tale. Company D. started out 16 months ago with 102 enlisted and able-bodied men, and today but 13 remains." Pages 149-50).

The letters are informative and at the same time entertaining and are to be recommended to all interested in learning a little more

about what the war seemed to be to an obscure, common, but, in this case, literate man.

The excellent job of bookmaking that Southern Illinois University Press turns out is worth mentioning. The consistently high standards of the press are a tribute not only to the designer, Andor Braun, but to Vernon Sternberg, the press's highly talented director.

C.C.W.

LEGISLATIVE POLITICS IN ILLINOIS

By Gilbert Y. Steiner and Samuel K. Gove. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1960. Pp. 208. $4.50.)

In the introduction to *Legislative Politics in Illinois,* the authors state that "this book is an inquiry into policy-making by the Illinois General Assembly and into the sources of policy leadership, including the governor of Illinois and the mayor of Chicago."

In 1958 the Democrats won a majority of the seats in the Illinois House of Representatives, but when the General Assembly organized itself for the 1959 session, the Speaker of the House was elected by a coalition of Republicans and a minority of the Democratic members. This reversal of the idea of majority rule called forth arguments on the applicability of party responsibility in the state legislature, on the real dimensions of the urban-rural cleavage, and on the question of whether the role of the Speaker is that of party leader or ringmaster of the House.

In this study Mr. Steiner and Mr. Gove undertook to establish a framework for understanding the kinds of questions provoked by the Speakership incident, and they have managed to do it with such clarity that one need not be a political scientist to comprehend it. They have gone behind the formal rules to explain with remarkable candor the factors which influence the success or failure of legislation from its introduction until its final disposition. The study is not in any sense an exposé, but to the reader whose chief sources of information on legislative procedures have been civics class outlines of executive and legislative functions, and press coverage of the General Assembly during the biennial sessions, there will be some revelations.

Beginning with a description, in the most practical terms, of how legislation moves through the two houses of the General Assembly, the volume includes also a chapter on the pressures which influence legislative decisions and one which outlines the role of standing committees and assesses their influence in the legislative

process. The reader is thus well prepared to appreciate the illustrative case studies, contained in later chapters, which delve into the politics of the redistricting of the state in 1955 following passage of the reapportionment amendment, the reorganization of the state's fiscal machinery as a result of the widely publicized "Hodge scandal" and the recent attempt at judicial reorganization.

Many factors help to shape the practices prevailing in the Illinois legislature. Two constitutional requirements (that bills must pass by recorded vote and that they become effective on the July 1 following passage) necessitate the use of "time-compressing" devices such as electric voting, the "clearing of the calendar" late in the session (passing blanket motions to table all bills at a certain stage in the legislative process) and the grouping of noncontroversial measures at voting stage.

Legislative business must be completed by June 30 if measures are to be effective in the same year, and with the foreknowledge of a "log jam" in the closing days of the session, a sense of timing is essential to a successful legislator — one who "gets bills passed." A strategy in the passage of controversial bills is to introduce them late in the session when they are not so closely scrutinized, but the line between having a bill slip through in the rush to adjourn and having it tabled in the "calendar clearing" process is a narrow one.

Suggestions for alleviating the late session "log jams" — most notably those for pre-session filing of bills and for annual legislative sessions — have been advanced. But, in the view of the authors of this volume, it is "fanciful to expect a move to eliminate the end-of-session jam. Its principal effect is to make log rolling easier, and the legislative process depends on log rolling."

Of the nonmember influences on the legislature, Steiner and Gove believe the governor to be "most effective," whether or not he is of the majority party, and they credit the press, particularly the Chicago daily papers, with "pervasive influence." They also note the role played by the active lobbies — spokesmen for labor, management, insurance, agriculture, railroads and governmental bodies — in helping to formulate and later to pass or defeat legislation. Political party policy is rated as a significant influence, although the authors cite an analysis (by William J. Keefe in 1952) of the influence of the parties at roll call stage in two consecutive sessions which shows that "few issues were decided with the members of one party voting with high cohesion against the members of the other party."

The evaluation of the role of standing committees in this vol-

ume may surprise those readers who have taken at face value the familiar explanation for the perfunctory character of floor activity in the legislative chambers — that "the important work is done in committee." In fact, committee chairmen "do not kill bills, do not delay bills, do not ignore bills, and rarely make a parliamentary ruling that will have an important effect on the future of a bill." In the 1955 session, only 3.3 per cent of bills referred to committee were reported out with "Do Not Pass" recommendations, and the 1957 session followed a similar pattern.

"Most bills that die in Illinois legislative committees are not killed, rather, they are made to commit suicide by their sponsors," according to Steiner and Gove. And the only role the committees play in the loss of large numbers of bills is to serve as convenient receptacles "for proposals that members of the legislature feel constrained for a variety of reasons to introduce, but which these same members do not seek to have enacted into law."

The case studies, because of their complexity, do not lend themselves to summary, but they are recommended for careful reading as examples of important legislation subjected to the influencing factors identified elsewhere in this study. A force that was evident in all of the case studies might be termed the principle of "whose ox is gored." As Steiner and Gove state it, "One of the striking contrasts presented by these cases was that between the legislature's concern for the protection of sitting members in the reapportionment situation and its disregard for the protection of sitting Supreme Court Judges in the Judicial reorganization controversy."

Having set forth the many and varied factors that bear upon legislative decision-making, the authors conclude that "the combination of a determined Republican Governor exercising effective control over downstate Republicans, and a determined Democratic Mayor exercising effective control over Chicago Democrats is more likely to produce any desired result than is any other combination of public or private interests."

Mr. Steiner, research professor and director of the University of Illinois Institute of Government and Public Affairs, and Mr. Gove, research associate professor in the Institute, bring impressive credentials to the compilation of this study. In addition to being academic political scientists, both have extensive legislative experience; hence their observations are acute and their conclusions unquestionably valid.

ELIZABETH B. RISSLER
Springfield

READINGS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE
By Wayne D. Rasmussen. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1960. Pp. xi, 340. $6.50.)

In 1925 Louis B. Schmidt and Earle D. Ross published a volume of *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*. Economic historians would wait for thirty-five years before Wayne Rasmussen placed another volume of readings in American agricultural history at their disposal.

Dr. Rasmussen's book, however, is not simply Schmidt and Ross brought up to date. In conception and coverage the two books are very different. The older volume was a collection of secondary accounts which provided a history of American agriculture when taken together. There was much stress on agricultural regionalism, on marketing of farm products and on farmers' movements.

The book under review is, for the most part, a collection of first-hand accounts of milestones in American agricultural development. In his selections the author has emphasized innovations in farm technology and in plant and animal husbandry, although he has not neglected the agricultural policies of the federal government, particularly in the years after 1914.

Within a framework of eight time periods, Dr. Rasmussen offers fifty-two passages, beginning with an excerpt from Gervase Markham's *Farewell to Husbandry* — a description of English farming during the early seventeenth century — and ending with Sir John Boyd Orr's proposal in 1946 for a world food board. Here, among others, William Bradford describes the Pilgrims learning to plant corn; Eli Whitney writes to his father of the cotton gin which he has invented; Henry Clay recounts the details of his importation of Hereford cattle in 1817; C. V. Riley tells of the Australian ladybird's role in checking cottony-cushion scale in the California citrus groves; Stephen M. Babcock explains the butterfat test which bears his name; and Arthur Capper pictures the development of the Farm Bloc after World War I. The author has provided crisply succinct introductions which place the selections in their proper historical perspective. He has appended, in addition, a useful chronology and a select list of titles for further reading.

Many teachers of economic and agricultural history will wish to place this book on their required reading lists. Laymen with an interest in agriculture will enjoy it also. The author is a fine craftsman; he has labored here to good purpose. If the book has limitations, they are due in part to the fact that the trail blazers in American agriculture have often been inarticulate men with little desire to instruct posterity. Some aspects of American agricultural history

do not lend themselves to the approach taken here. Bona fide members of what Seaman Knapp called "the farm masses" seldom speak from these pages.

I do wish to protest mildly that the illustrations do not supplement the text as closely as they might. I would very cheerfully have traded the glossy print of a benign demonstration agent in her Model T, or the steamboat loaded with cotton, for a plain drawing of the Babcock test equipment, or a diagram of Jethro Wood's plow — not to mention a cut of the Australian ladybird.

Perhaps Rasmussen intended no such subtlety, but from the farmer's standpoint his final selection was rather grimly prophetic — Sir John Boyd Orr's concern was primarily for the consumer, not the producer.

Allan G. Bogue
State University of Iowa

COVERED BRIDGES IN ILLINOIS, IOWA AND WISCONSIN By Leslie C. Swanson. (Swanson Publishing Company: Moline, Ill., 1960. Pp. 40. $1.50.)

A number of books and magazine articles on covered bridges, "those quaint survivors of a leisurely age," have been published during the last decade. *Covered Bridges in Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin,* an illustrated booklet, is a comprehensive treatise on the subject for the Midwest.

A chance crossing of a covered bridge in Knox County, Illinois, was responsible for the author's interest in covered bridges and resulted in his writing on the subject.

Covered bridges were products of centuries of development dating from biblical times. While various reasons for the covering have been advanced, the real reason was to preserve the timbers. The first covered bridge in the United States was built in 1805 in Philadelphia by a Timothy Palmer of Newburyport, Massachusetts. The building of covered bridges of different types, styles and trusses continued apace until after the Civil War, finally yielding ground to the age of steel and concrete and heavier traffic demands. During a century and a half, covered bridges were used for many purposes other than for crossing streams and railroad tracks. They were, for instance, used for children's playgrounds, lovers' trysts, political rallies, camping facilities and picnics.

A number of covered bridges have been the scenes of serious accidents, a few of which Swanson reports in some detail.

More than 1,500 such structures have been built throughout the United States. A great majority

have succumbed to the elements or to floods, fires or the need for more modern structures. Most of the covered bridges in Illinois, perhaps as many as two hundred, were built between 1848 and 1880. Casualties have been high in recent years; only nine have withstood the ravages of time. A map, prepared by the Illinois Departmental Information Service, lists them as follows:

Red bridge, near Princeton; Hamilton bridge; Gladstone-Oquawka bridge; Wolfe bridge, near Gilson; Swan Creek bridge, near Greenbush; Kaskaskia River bridge (Drypoint), near Cowden; Springfield bridge, near Bradfordton; Sugar Creek bridge, near Glenarm; and the Little Mary's River bridge, near Chester.

Three of the above bridges are owned by the state of Illinois. Covered-bridge enthusiasts, public-minded citizens and county officials are combining their efforts to preserve the remaining covered bridges in Illinois.

Twelve covered bridges survive in Iowa but there is only one left in Wisconsin.

Covered bridges are listed as tourist attractions. "There is just something fascinating about them you can't describe," Swanson quotes one visitor as saying. This echoes the sentiment of most covered-bridge enthusiasts, he believes.

G. H. Iftner
Springfield

DICTIONARY OF WISCONSIN BIOGRAPHY

Compiled and edited by The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1960. Pp. xiv, 385. $11.)

With publication of the new *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography* an eminently worthwhile project in state biography and history is brought to handsome completion after a beginning that dates back more than twenty-five years. Commenced with a collection of biographical sketches compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the depression years and patterned on the multi-volumed *Dictionary of American Biography,* the impressive Wisconsin work was reundertaken in earnest in 1950 by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin under the impetus of Dr. Clifford L. Lord.

A vast amount of work has gone into this large, sturdy, excellently printed, blue-and-gold-backed book. Fifteen editors, consisting chiefly of historians at universities and colleges in Wisconsin, directed the compilation of the names of those to be included. They also made assignments for the preparation of the manuscript of some fifteen hundred subjects to nearly five hundred contribu-

tors. Through the last decade many of the students in Professor William B. Hesseltine's history classes at the University of Wisconsin gathered facts and wrote them into basic articles on the prospective subjects, which then, along with hundreds of others, were edited to an established plan of concise, factual articles, with crisp evaluation of each person's significance.

Articles range in length from, for example, two and one-half pages for the two Robert M. La Follettes, father and son, treated jointly, down to ten lines for scores of persons of lesser importance, but who have their place in "the Wisconsin story." Generally speaking, the early French explorers of Wisconsin's lakes and rivers, such as Jolliet and Marquette, who can be readily looked up in other reference works, receive relatively less space than many less well-known Wisconsin figures. The wide range of interests, activities and contributions can be seen from these random names: Allis, Armour, Bascom, Berger, Blaine, Blatz, Catlin, Commons, Draper, Dykstra, Ely, Evinrude, Fish, Frank, Gale, Hoard, Jastrow, Kohler, Lenroot, Nieman, Nye, Ogg, Paxson, Reinsch, Schilling, Schlitz, Schurz, Spooner, Thwaites, Turner and Zimmerman. The spread of talents includes Thomas Carl Anderson, cartoonist creator of "Henry"; Governor George W. Peck, who became nationally famous as the author of the "Peck's Bad Boy" stories; James B. Pond, who managed the lecture tours of Mark Twain, Henry Ward Beecher, Bill Nye and other celebrities; and Albert Ringling (originally Rungeling), circus man.

A substantial number of the persons included were born in Europe — many in Germany, Norway and Sweden, others in France, Finland, Italy, Scotland, England, Wales, the Netherlands, the Baltic countries and Canada. Sometimes all the names on two facing pages are of foreign nativity. Information about these largely forgotten people, often pioneers, in many instances has been hard to obtain, and the sketches are therefore all the more valuable. An example is the article on Carl De Haas (1816-1875), early settler, author, newspaperman, who emigrated from Germany and wrote a German-language pamphlet, with information on Wisconsin and helpful hints for prospective immigrants, which led many German families to make Wisconsin their destination in the new world.

A detail which appears frequently is that the subject came as a child with his parents to northern Illinois from the East and subsequently migrated to Wisconsin. Here are some natives of Illinois who are included for their contributions to Wisconsin life later on:

Black Hawk (1767-1838), Sauk war

chief, born near Rock Island.

Bliss, Howard Festes (1844-1919), editor, born at Mount Carroll.

Burnham, Guy Miles (1860-1939), author, born at Aurora.

Carey, Eben James (1889-1947), anatomist, born at Chicago.

Chamberlin, Thomas Chrowder 1843-1928), geologist, born at Mattoon.

Davidson, John Nelson (1848-1945), clergyman, born near Galena.

Davis, John Jefferson (1852-1937), mycologist, born at Davis.

Enderis, Dorothy (1880-1952), educator, born at Elmhurst.

Garrison, Frank (1852-1905), paper manufacturer, born at Greenwood.

Holt, William Arthur (1865-1953), lumberman, born at Lake Forest.

Lange, Louie Augustus (1854-1917), newspaperman, born at Chicago.

McCaskill, Virgil Everett (1866-1922), educator, born in Knox County.

McGavick, Alexander Joseph (1863-1948), bishop, born at Fox Lake.

Nash, Charles W. (1864-1948), inventor, industrialist, born in DeKalb County.

Olbrich, Michael Balthasar (1881-1929), lawyer, born at Chemung.

Ringling, Albert (1852-1916), circus man, born at Chicago.

Ross, Edward Allsworth (1866-1951), sociologist, born at Virden.

Rusy, Benjamin Franklin (1894-1953), soil conservationist, born at Chicago.

Smith, John Melgar (1872-1947), banker, born at Carthage.

Snow, Benjamin Warner (1860-1928), physicist, born at Henry.

Stevens, Edmond Ray (1869-1930), judge, born in Lake County.

Turneaure, Frederick Eugene (1866-1951), engineering dean, born near Freeport.

Van Meter, Abraham Chenoweth (1842-1899), newspaperman, born at Newark.

Winton, Charles Joel (1862-1934), lumberman, born at Chicago.

Yawkey, Cyrus Carpenter (1862-1943), businessman, born at Chicago.

Bernard Wax, field representative for the Illinois State Historical Library, is cited particularly as a former Draper scholarship holder at the University of Wisconsin who contributed sketches of twentieth-century figures. Mary Sue Dilliard, librarian of the U. S. Grant Junior High School, Springfield, a former Hesseltine student, also is among the contributors.

A preliminary study, looking toward the publication of a similar reference work for Illinois, was authorized at the 1960 annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Rockford.

Irving Dilliard
Collinsville

News and Comment

David Davis Mansion Opened to the Public

On the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is a picture of the parlor of the David Davis Mansion, in Bloomington, which was opened to the public on February 11 as a museum of nineteenth-century living and the state's newest historic shrine.

In observance of the occasion a dinner was given on the preceding evening at the Student Union building of Illinois State Normal University by the State Historical Society and the other agencies associated in the administration of the project.

Principal speaker at this event was Willard L. King, Chicago attorney and author of the recently published *Lincoln's Manager, David Davis.* Alexander Summers, a past president of the State Society and secretary of the State Teachers College Board, presided, and brief remarks were also made by President Robert G. Bone of Normal and State Senator David Davis IV, who, with his three nieces, had presented the Mansion to the state.

In keeping with the nineteenth-century motif of the occasion the two hundred ninety-three guests were served a meal that included roast leg of veal with apple dressing, parsnips and corn bread. Dinner music was presented by an instrumental ensemble of Normal students.

The opening of the Mansion was timed to precede Lincoln's birthday because of the association of its builder with the Emancipator. The title of author King's talk was "The Davis House," but it included a biography of David Davis I with emphasis on the part he played in Lincoln's life.

Following the dinner the group adjourned to the Davis Mansion, where girls from University High School in Normal, costumed in nineteenth-century dress, acted as hostesses. More than 150 visitors signed the register at this offical opening of the Mansion.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Mrs. Maitland A. Timmermiere will again head the Alton Area Historical Society in 1961. Other officers elected at the Society's December meeting are Carl K. Prewitt, vice-president; Miss Margaretha Zeltmann, secretary; Lester Meyer, treasurer; and Mrs. John F. Lemp, librarian.

Mrs. Roy Blair, speaker at the December meeting, discussed the history of the First Baptist Church

— organized in 1833 and the earliest Baptist church in lower Alton.

On January 8 the Society met with the Lewis and Clark Historical Society at the Wood River Public Library for a joint session at which Irving Dilliard was the principal speaker. His subject was the commemoration of the Civil War Centennial.

The Batavia Historical Society — organized late in 1959 — now has a membership of 240, more than double its size in February, 1960. The Society has under way a number of worthwhile projects of which much older organizations might be proud. It supplies local history articles to the *Batavia Herald,* issues a well-edited two-page mimeographed bulletin — the *Batavia Historian,* sells note paper imprinted with Batavia views, is preparing a Batavia history for publication and has begun a program of marking historic homes in the community. In addition, the Society's Civil War committee is particularly active; it is arranging a special program and collecting and cataloging relevant war information and memorabilia.

The Boone County Historical Society museum is several steps closer to realization since the last report in the *Journal.* A building site, at East Menominee and Webster streets in Belvidere, has been acquired, and architects' plans have been adopted. The museum, designed by the Rockford firm of Lippincott and Beckman, will be a 40- by 60-foot one-story brick-veneered structure of concrete and steel. The main floor of the building will house a large exhibit hall, offices and a "room of yesteryear"; and the basement will provide space for the library, workroom and meeting-room.

Heading the campaign to finance the new museum are the Society trustees: President John R. Tripp and Public Relations Director George Leaich.

One of several historical societies looking for a home is that of Du Page County, whose extensive collections are now scattered throughout the area. The county board of supervisors has appointed a committee to consider purchase of the John C. Neltnor home, built in 1867 in West Chicago, as Society headquarters. Also under consideration was the historic Van Oven property near Naperville.

The Charles Gates Dawes mansion at 225 Greenwood Avenue, Evanston, was formally dedicated as the home of the Evanston Historical Society at ceremonies on Sunday, October 10, and the museum was opened to the public the following week.

Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, was the principal speaker at the dedication. Also taking part in the program were Evanston Mayor

John R. Kimbark; Society President Edson M. Brock; Dr. Harold Blake Walker; Harry L. Wells, vice-president emeritus of Northwestern University; Alan Weber, Northwestern legal counsel; Mrs. Ernest McEwen, president of the Society Women's Guild; Mrs. LaRhett L. Stuart, Jr., president of the Evanston Junior League; and C. Lyman Emrich, Jr., program chairman for the day's events.

General Dawes, Vice-President under Calvin Coolidge from 1925 to 1929, left the home to Northwestern University but stipulated in his will that it be used for the Historical Society. After many months of legal negotiations, arrangements were made for the Society to lease the home for $1.00 per year, with the city helping to underwrite maintenance costs by leasing the grounds from the Society as a park area. The Junior League is leasing a portion of the house.

Several members of the Dawes family were guests at the dedication ceremonies. They included the General's son, Dana Dawes, the latter's wife and two sons; a nephew, Rufus Beach; grandnephew, Rufus C. Dawes; and the General's sister-in-law, Mrs. Henry M. Dawes.

After the formal ceremonies on the lawn, several hundred guests toured the home and were entertained at tea. The home boasts an excellent library and museum exhibit. The latter included, on opening day, costumes of Evanston women from the time of the city's founding; a children's room and an Evanston founder's room — both furnished in period style. The museum will be open on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons and on Saturday mornings.

Most of the recent activities of the Galena Historical Society have been concerned with plans for observing the Centennial of the Civil War. In January, Society members were guests at a dinner meeting of the Dubuque, Iowa, Historical Society at which the Centennial plans of both groups were discussed. Mrs. George T. Millhouse, Jr., is president of the Galena organization.

Exhibits shown at the December meeting of the Geneva Historical Society included pictures of the wrecking of the Chicago and North Western depot, hand-forged spikes from the old Geneva dam and photographs of the new Fox River dam at that town. The program was presented by Everett Appel of Aurora, photographer for the Illinois Conservation Department, who showed two films, "Lincoln Is My Name" and "The Fox River Development"; the latter includes scenes of the work being done along the stream.

At the business meeting, Miss Jeanita Peterson, treasurer, reported that the Society's reserve

fund — set aside for a future museum — had reached a total of over $2,200. The microfilm committee — Frank Jarvis, Miss Katie Hawkins and Gordon Fehr — reported that the Society had raised more than enough money to complete payment for filming the files of the *Geneva Republican* and a four-year file of the *Patrols*. Miss Margaret Allan, secretary, reported that the Society now handles many historical research questions received by the county clerk, the Geneva library and the *Republican* office.

The Civil War provided the theme of the Jersey County Historical Society's winter meeting, held Saturday, December 10. Professor Brook B. Ballard, Jr., head of the history department at Principia College, spoke on the subject "Why Did We Have a Civil War?" Mrs. Emma Powel and Mrs. Proctor Langley then related local Civil War tales, and R. M. Anderson read a paper prepared by Miss Lillian Houghtlin. A group of Civil War songs was presented by students of the East Elementary School under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Moore.

Orian Metcalf was named president of the Jefferson County Historical Society at a dinner meeting on December 8 at West Salem Church. He succeeds George Webb. Other new officers are F. C. Wilbanks, vice-president, and Dr. M. M. Lumbatis, director.

Officers for 1961 were chosen at the annual meeting of the Kankakee County Historical Society, held in November in the Centennial Room of the Historical and Arts Building in Governor Small Memorial Park. Vernon McBroom is the new president; Len Small, first vice-president; Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary; and Gilbert Hertz, treasurer.

The secretary, Mrs. Still, who is also curator of the museum, reported on 1960 acquisitions; and Charles V. Weishaupt, curator of the Robert R. McCormick Historymobile, which was in the Kankakee area at the time of the meeting, spoke briefly.

The Knox County Historical Society, organized early in the fall, held its first public meeting at the Galesburg Club on December 1, with Ralph G. Newman, immediate past president of the State Historical Society, as guest speaker. Dr. Herman Muelder, dean of Knox College, was toastmaster. James L. Norton, Jr., of Galesburg is president of the new society; Mrs. Ray Arnold is vice-president; Mark Lawrence, secretary; and A. H. Telford, treasurer. Directors are Willis Terry, Louis Nielson, Harry McFall, James Van Gieson, Donald C. Woolsey and Lawrence Stickell.

Dues of the County Society include a membership fee for the Illinois State Historical Society. In addition to thus affiliating with the State Society, the county group

is planning to designate township representatives.

Another Knox County historical group is the Knox County Historical Sites, Inc. — formed in 1950 for the purpose of preserving the old courthouse at Knoxville. That building has been restored and is now being developed as a museum.

Plans for the museum and for studying two other historic Knox County structures — the old county jail at Knoxville and the covered bridge near Gilson — were made at the organization's annual dinner meeting in November.

Mrs. Irving Garcelon, who has headed the Sites group since its founding, was again re-elected president.

"Western" fans among the small fry — as well as among their elders — should sit up and take notice when the officers of the La Salle County Historical Society are mentioned, for the new president of the group is Horace Hickok, of Troy Grove, a nephew of the famous "Wild Bill." Other new officers are Mrs. Harry Troup, Ottawa, vice-president; Miss Ruth Karger, Mendota, secretary; Miss Jane Mills, La Salle, recording secretary; Mrs. Hugh Black, Tonica, treasurer; and the following board members, elected to three-year terms: Alvin Carus, La Salle; George Watkins, Ottawa; Ray Richardson, Tonica; and Miss Margaret Mills, Ottawa.

The 1960-1961 roster of officers of the Lewis and Clark Historical Society is again headed by Loyal D. Palmer of Wood River. Other new officers include George Botteron, first vice-president; Mrs. Maude Trovillion, second vice-president; Miss Effie Maxey, secretary; Mrs. Marguerite Bell, assistant secretary; Mrs. Lucille Husted, treasurer; Herman Meyer, assistant treasurer; Omar Lyon, curator; Miss Louise Travous, historian; and the following trustees: Ernest Giehl, William C. Aderon, Donald Lewis and Mrs. Russell Durham. Trustees whose terms will expire in October, 1961, are Paul S. Cousley, Carl Harman, Otto Brazier and Esther B. Horne.

The traditional open meeting of the Land of Goshen Historical Society was held Sunday, January 8, in the Boeschenstein Memorial Room at the Edwardsville Public Library. The speaker for the meeting was Mrs. Gladys B. Bartholomew, who talked on the history of the Madison County Nursing Home, 1813-1849. A reception was given after the talk in honor of the speaker and two residents of the Home: Miss Caroline Wolf, a charter member of the Society and onetime curator of the Madison County Museum, and Mrs. I. O. West, also a Society member.

The historical plaque awarded in 1960 by the Madison County Historical Society honors United States congressmen who were

Madison County residents at the time they were elected. The plaque was presented to the Madison County Board of Supervisors by Arthur C. Boeker, president of the Edwardsville National Bank and Trust Company, at the Society's annual meeting, held October 16 at the Edwardsville Junior High School. The bronze plaque, inscribed with the names of the Madison County congressmen, will hang in the Madison County Courthouse in Edwardsville.

Dr. Robert M. Sutton of the University of Illinois, principal speaker for the meeting, talked on the events of the year 1837, which he called "Illinois' year of decision." After his talk the film "Meet Mr. Lincoln" was shown by courtesy of Harry Fechte of Granite City.

At the business meeting Irving Dilliard of Collinsville was chosen the new president; A. Edson Smith, East Alton, first vice-president; Mrs. Austin A. Lewis, Madison, second vice-president; Jessie E. Springer, Edwardsville, secretary; and Donald F. Lewis, Bethalto, treasurer.

At its annual dinner meeting, held January 16 in the Congregational Church at Lacon, the Marshall County Historical Society observed its own fifth anniversary and the one hundred twenty-second anniversary of the county. The program issued for the meeting paid tribute to the late Dr. Harry Pratt, former Illinois State Historian and head of the State Historical Society, who guided the founders of the Marshall County Society.

The principal speaker was Dr. Dan Morse, of Peoria, a former president of the Illinois State Archaeological Society, who gave an illustrated talk on the Hopewellian Indians of the Marshall County area.

At the business meeting after the program, the following officers were installed: Mrs. Blake Grieves, Lacon, president; Wayne Buck, treasurer; Miss Eleanor Bussell, secretary; and three vice-presidents: Mrs. Harvey Swanson of Wenona, Mrs. Ralph Kimpling of Toluca and John Boose of Henry.

Fred Close of Aledo is the new president of the Mercer County Historical Society. Other officers elected at the December 6 meeting are L. Boyd Finch, first vice-president; Wray Watt, second vice-president; the Rev. V. V. Wortman, secretary; and Glen Stancliff, treasurer. Watt is from Alexis, and the other new officers are all Aledo residents. The Society also has fifteen township directors, who are appointed by the officers.

The Essley-Noble Memorial Museum, in Aledo, which was formally opened in October, 1959, has been the subject of a number of recent stories in the *Aledo*

Times Record. The museum is administered by the Historical Society, which was chartered in 1955. The museum's donor, E. L. Essley, had agreed to build, equip and operate the building until the local Society was financially able to assume the costs. Mr. Essley died, however, before the building was equipped or the grounds landscaped and before the Society had begun to operate effectively. In the last two years, a concerted campaign by Society officers has brought the membership rolls to 400 and enabled the museum to be open to the public two afternoons a week.

West Central Illinois agriculture during the Civil War was the subject of the fall meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society. Cecil Tendrick, farm editor of the *Jacksonville Courier,* was the speaker.

Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, former president of both the Morgan County and Illinois State Historical societies, presented the program at the January meeting. His subject was "Lincoln's Campaigns for the Presidency." Of particular interest to his audience was the mission of a Jacksonville man, Colonel James F. Jaquess, to Confederate President Jefferson Davis during the 1864 campaign. Jaquess, who was the first president of MacMurray College, was chosen for the task since he had long been a friend of Davis's. Davis's refusal to compromise, and his statement to Jaquess that the Confederacy would never surrender, played a significant part in uniting disparate Northern factions in behalf of Lincoln's reelection.

C. Merle Haselton of Rochelle will head the Ogle County Historical Society in 1961. Other officers elected at the Society's November 28 meeting, held in the Mt. Morris Methodist Church, are Russell Poole, Polo, vice-president, and Mrs. Virgil T. Goodrich, Mt. Morris, corresponding secretary; officers whose terms have one more year to run are Mrs. Armour Van Briesen, Stillman Valley, recording secretary, and Mrs. H. G. Milligan, Kings, treasurer.

The Peoria Historical Society has revived its local tour program, holding its first bus outing since 1946 on Saturday afternoon, November 5. Harry L. Spooner outlined the tour to participants, who met at Friendship House, and Gerald T. Kelsch was narrator on the bus. This first tour was devoted to the North Peoria area, and among the places visited were the old free bridge where Fort St. Louis and a ferry were located; the site of the horse-and-carriage Parmely Coach Lines at Fayette and North Adams streets; the old Peoria fort and village site, at the foot of Caroline Street; and the land used for Camp Pe-

oria in 1862, at Mary and North Adams streets.

The Peoria Society is one of those whose mimeographed bulletin is regularly received at the State Society's offices. In addition to the usual meeting notices and membership news, the Peoria bulletin has a "monthly quote" which is usually on the subject of history and is always interesting.

The personal antique collections of members have provided a number of outstanding programs for the Perry County Historical Society. In December, Mrs. Arline Teabeau of Du Quoin discussed her collection of dolls, many of which she brought to the meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Riead of Tamaroa.

Some twenty-five of the one hundred fifty irons owned by Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Dunn of Du Quoin were exhibited at the Society's November meeting. Mrs. Dunn described the irons on display, which included toy irons and the old-fashioned smoothing, or sad, irons, as well as those operated by charcoal, gasoline and natural gas.

Society officers for 1961 include Roger W. Eaton, Du Quoin, president; E. E. McMurray, Du Quoin, vice-president; Pona Eaton, Pinckneyville, secretary; and Mrs. Ethel Sanford, Du Quoin, treasurer. They were installed in January.

Herbert K. Kaiser, of Monticello, president of the Piatt County Historical Society, gave a history of the Brown family of Providence, Rhode Island, at the Society's December meeting. At one time, Kaiser said, the Browns owned thousands of acres of Piatt County land.

Kaiser was elected to head the Society again in 1961, and other officers chosen at the December meeting include Judge Henry Timmons Dighton, vice-president; Darrell J. Tippett, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. B. E. Morgan, executive secretary; and James K. Felts, librarian.

The historical home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County — the Greek Revival mansion that was the residence of Governor John Wood — was re-opened to the public early in November after having been closed two months for remodeling and repair.

The new Pike County Historical Society was formally organized on October 10 with Mrs. Leonard J. Litvan of Pittsfield as the first president.

By the end of the year the Society had enrolled sixty-six charter members.

The impressive activities of the Randolph County Historical Society in 1960 were summarized in the Society's October news letter by the retiring president, Lily

Flynn of Percy. With a membership of only eighty-one the Society, she said, has raised and paid out some $1,400 for the acquisition and restoration of the octagonal Charter Oak School at Schuline. Only $439 of this amount, she reported, came from private subscriptions; the remainder was brought in by hard-working Society members, who held such money-raising events as food sales, card parties and fish fries. Handling the financing of the school project was a committee consisting of A. W. Mines, Martin Kloth and Raymond Heuman. Mrs. W. J. Spurgeon is chairman of the restoration committee.

At the Society's annual banquet, October 19, in Sparta, Miss Flynn and other Society officers took part in a ceremonial burning of the mortgage for the Charter Oak School.

New officers elected at the meeting included E. A. Bierbaum, Sparta, president; George Land, vice-president; Mrs. Edison Fiene, secretary; Sylvan Dial, treasurer; and the following directors: Martin Kloth, Miss Flynn, Mrs. Clara Taggart and Donald Hays. Mrs. C. M. Hanson is a hold-over member of the directors' board. Mr. Bierbaum died less than two weeks after his election to the presidency and has since been succeeded by Mr. Land. Mrs. Jane Hays will fill the vice-presidency post.

Among the Society's other recent projects is its program of historical tours both for county school children and for tourists. Methods of further developing the tourist activities were explored by the principal speaker for the banquet meeting, Dr. William J. Tudor of Southern Illinois University. Also speaking briefly were former State Historical Society President John W. Allen; Historical Society Field Representative Bernard Wax; Wayman Pressley, of Makanda, who has directed a series of successful southern Illinois tours; and Mrs. Cameron Townsend, of Schuline, who thanked the Society for preserving the Charter Oak School.

Ebers R. Schweizer was master of ceremonies for the evening's program.

One hundred forty people attended the annual dinner meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society, on October 25, at the Coe School and then toured the nearby Coe Township Memorial Museum, three miles east of Port Byron on the Port Byron-Hillsdale Road. Principal speaker was Dr. Richard Anderson, of Augustana College, whose talk on the "Local Geologic Setting" provided background for the museum's geological display which had been arranged by college officials. Other museum displays were explained by Louis D. Hauberg, G. Hollister Boardman, Mrs. Elmer Wassell and Mrs. Andrew Kleist. Mrs. Virgil Simpson of

Port Byron was chairman of the program, which was presented "in honor of Louis D. Hauberg, who built and gave to Coe Township a museum to preserve for future generations the mementos used by our forefathers."

The museum building is a modern brick structure, which will be operated by the school board under the jurisdiction of the County Historical Society; Mr. Hauberg, 82, a brother of former State Society President John H. Hauberg, will provide a trust fund for its maintenance.

The Pioneer and Old Settlers Association of Rock Island elected State Representative Ralph Stephenson, Moline, as its new president at the ninety-fourth annual reunion held last fall at Black Hawk State Park.

Representatives of the St. Charles Historical Society were special guests at an "Appreciation Dinner" given January 9 for members of St. Charles city boards and commissions. The Society — which has approximately one hundred twenty-five members — was cited especially for its "outstanding work in preserving the city's history."

The Society's museum in the St. Charles Municipal Building has recently been renovated, and a special reopening for the early spring was planned.

John W. Allen, southern Illinois historian and writer and past president of the State Historical Society, is the new executive director of the Saline County Historical Museum. Allen has moved to Harrisburg, where he will devote about half of his time to equipping the new museum. Such a museum, he said, should not be a collecting place for curiosities or a storage room for worn-out furniture but an educational device for telling the story of our culture from pioneer days to the present.

The "historical room" of the Stark County Historical Society, located in the Toulon Public Library, is now open to the public on the first and third Saturday afternoons of each month. The Society's collections there are in charge of Miss Annie Lowman, who is also secretary of the organization.

Talks on subjects ranging from coin collecting to frontier renegades provided the fall and early winter programs of the Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society. The frontier renegade, Simon Gerty, was discussed by Neil Lathrop at the January meeting, and "Coins as History" was the topic of George MacLennan at the September meeting.

Gunnar Benson, president of the Society, discussed genealogical research at the October meeting, and Mr. and Mrs. Christian Kilgus gave a slide-illustrated talk

on historic spots of Europe in November.

"Union County now has a historical society!" This was the lead sentence of a story in the November 3 *Anna Gazette-Democrat,* which reported the birth of the Union County Historical Society on October 25. Approximately forty residents of the county attended the new Society's organizational meeting at the Stinson Memorial Library, Anna, and elected the following temporary officers: the Rev. Edward A. Johnson, Dongola, chairman; C. Joe Thomas, Cobden, vice-chairman; and George Edwin Parks, Anna, secretary.

Lynn Price officiated at his first meeting as president of the Vandalia Historical Society on December 5. Mrs. Otis Hoffman, who was in charge of the program, gave a book review of James D. Horan's recent study of famed Civil War photographer Mathew Brady.

Mayor Wasson W. Lawrence of Fairfield, a director of the State Historical Society, was re-elected president of the Wayne County Historical Society at the first meeting of the fall season. Other officers include Peter G. Rapp, vice-president; Miss Lila Stonemetz, recording secretary; J. C. Lappin, treasurer; Jesse Crews, corresponding secretary; and two new board members, Ivan King of Geff and King Chase of Wayne City. State Historian Clyde C. Walton talked on Illinois' participation in the Civil War at the meeting.

John W. Allen, now of Harrisburg, was the principal speaker at the January meeting of the Williamson County Historical Society, held in Marion. Guests at the program included Mrs. Paul Hatfield, president of the Saline County Society and a director of the State Society, and Mrs. John S. Gilster of Chester, a State Society vice-president. At a brief business meeting, the Society's 1960 officers were re-elected. They are James Sanders, Marion, president; O. K. McWilliams, Marion, first vice-president; Miss Hannah Bond, Marion, second vice-president; Miss Cavanas Scobey, Carterville, third vice-president; Mrs. Christina C. Mercer, Carterville, secretary; and Mrs. Jessie Gray, Marion, treasurer.

Samuel A. Greeley's description of his early days in Winnetka provided the program for the November meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society. The meeting was held in the new headquarters of the Evanston Historical Society — the former Dawes mansion. Edson M. Brock, president of the Evanston Society, conducted a tour of the building and exhibits for the Winnetka guests.

Journal

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $3 a year (individual life membership, $50) and institutional dues, $4 a year. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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ARTHUR BESTOR

State Sovereignty and Slavery

A Reinterpretation of Proslavery Constitutional Doctrine, 1846-1860

Arthur Bestor, professor of history at the University of Illinois and a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, began working on this subject in 1957 while Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford. The book which has resulted from his studies is tentatively titled Slavery and the American Constitution, 1846-1860: A Historical Analysis of the Crisis That Led to Civil War *and will be published by the Clarendon Press of Oxford University. The author presented this paper to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its Detroit meeting on April 21, 1961. Earlier versions had been delivered as lectures at Wayne State University, the University of Illinois and the State University of Iowa. A paper on a closely related theme — "The Constitutional Issues of 1860" — was read before the Illinois State Historical Society meeting at Rockford on October 9, 1960.*

IN 1860-1861 ELEVEN slaveholding states proclaimed their secession from the American Union. They were pushing to its logical extreme a constitutional doctrine variously known as "state rights" or "state sovereignty." The doctrine had figured in American constitutional discussion for upwards of sixty years. Moreover, during the controversy over slavery in the territories, which raged for fifteen years, from the time of the Wilmot Proviso of 1846 until the election of 1860, the arguments and slogans of state sovereignty had been reiterated so often that they became almost as familiar (and often seemed almost as ageless) as the Ten Commandments.

Historians take an impish delight in pointing out that the doctrine

of state rights has been espoused on one occasion or another by virtually every section or party or interest that has ever found its opponents ensconced in power in the national capital. As Alexander Johnston put it seventy-odd years ago, "Almost every state in the Union [has] in turn declared its own 'sovereignty,' and denounced as almost treasonable similar declarations in other cases by other states."[1] Most historians stop with this paradox, satisfied that they have reached the end of it. They observe that state sovereignty has made strange bedfellows, but they assume that the doctrine itself, considered simply as a doctrine, has remained essentially unaltered throughout all its changing cohabitations.

In this view of the matter, the theory of state rights, whenever invoked, has had a constant and unvarying tendency. State sovereignty, it is supposed, can always be equated with local self-determination and local autonomy. The doctrine seeks consistently to minimize the exercise of national powers. It is perennially sympathetic to the idea that a state may rightfully "interpose" its authority to prevent the central government's jeopardizing, or even interfering with, the rights or interests or customs of the state's own citizens. According to the conventional view, these three political principles are invariably associated with the idea of state sovereignty. Consequently the doctrine itself must always be looked upon as a purely defensive one, capable of weakening the central authority but by its very nature incapable of being used aggressively or imperialistically.

These assumptions are plausible enough. And the secession crisis of 1860-1861 appears to validate them completely. In defending their course, the seceding states appealed to a political philosophy that exalted local autonomy. "The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection," complained South Carolina in a formal declaration of her reasons for seceding.[2] In an accompanying address she went on to say that "the Government of the United States has become consolidated,

1. "State Sovereignty," in John J. Lalor, ed., *Cyclopaedia of Political Science* (Chicago, 1884), III: 794. See also Arthur M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), 220-44, "The State Rights Fetish."

2. "Declaration of the Immediate Causes . . . [of] Secession," Dec. 24, 1860. *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, Held in 1860, 1861 and 1862* (Columbia, S.C., 1862), 465-66. The ordinance of secession was adopted on Dec. 20, 1860. *Ibid.*, 43.

with a claim of limitless powers in its operations."[3] By seceding from the Union, moreover, South Carolina was obviously interposing the sovereignty of the state in the most conclusive fashion possible. The language throughout was purely defensive. The onus for aggression was placed upon those who would uphold the Union by "coercing" the states.

Secession was obviously the culminating expression of the idea of state sovereignty, and secession can be interpreted as a defensive measure designed to vindicate the philosophy of local self-government. If, then, the doctrine of state sovereignty signified the defensive principles of local autonomy, decentralization, and interposition when invoked to justify secession, must it not have signified substantially the same three principles when earlier invoked, by the very same group, to support their policy regarding slavery in the territories? The answer, contrary to expectation, is *no*. During the crisis of 1846-1860, the doctrine of state sovereignty possessed implications for political philosophy that were almost precisely the opposite of those that had belonged to it in earlier days and that were later hastily reasserted at the time of secession.

One simple fact is often forgotten. Secession was the *alternative* to, not the purposed *outcome* of, the constitutional program that proslavery forces advocated, in the name of state sovereignty, during the controversy over slavery in the territories. This alternative — dissolution of the Union — doubtless lay in the back of the minds of increasing numbers of proslavery leaders as the year 1860 approached. Nevertheless, the actual proposals they were offering from 1846 to 1860 presupposed the continued existence of the federal system. The defenders of slavery wished the constitutional machinery to function in such a way as to give maximum protection to slavery. This meant, of necessity, that they were still committed to the view that the Constitution was a machine that could and should be made to work. Only after they opted for secession did they look upon the old Constitution as a wreck to be dismantled.

In the nature of the case, the reasoning employed to support a positive program for protecting slavery in the territories and for enforcing the fugitive-slave act could not be identical with the reasoning employed to dissolve the Union. Though state sover-

3. "Address . . . to the People of the Slaveholding States," Dec. 24, 1860. *Ibid.*, 470.

eignty might be the premise in both instances, the two arguments were different in purpose and in logic. They were not only different, they were almost antithetical. To attempt to understand the proslavery constitutional argument of 1846-1860 by assuming it to be identical with the secessionist argument of 1860-1861 is to read history backwards and hence to misread it.

On every major point — on local autonomy, on diminution of federal power, and on interposition — the state-sovereignty position regarding slavery was almost exactly the reverse of the state-sovereignty position regarding secession.

Secession represented the principle of local autonomy pushed to its logical extreme. In discussing the question of slavery in the territories, by contrast, proponents of state sovereignty repudiated in theory and practice the idea of local autonomy. It was Stephen A. Douglas who stood consistently for self-determination in the matter of slavery. And the proslavery faction (after an initial period of hesitation) turned against Douglas's principle of territorial sovereignty so decisively that in 1860 they split the Democratic Party rather than accept it.

In the second place, secessionist documents of 1860-1861 denounced the "consolidation" of power in federal hands. By contrast, the proslavery program of 1846-1860 called for rigorous enforcement of the fugitive-slave law by federal commissioners dispersed throughout the Union. By 1860, moreover, proslavery leaders were contemplating the idea of a federally enacted slave code to be imposed in all the territories.[4]

Finally, secession represented an extreme application of the idea that a state might interpose its sovereign authority to render null and void within its borders any controverted exercise of federal power. During the dispute over slavery, however, those who preached state sovereignty had no use whatever for the traditional doctrines of interposition and nullification. Instead, proslavery leaders denounced in the bitterest terms both the nullification of the fugitive-slave act by the personal-liberty laws of various northern states, and also the kind of interposition that Wisconsin attempted in the case of Sherman M. Booth.[5] Though South Carolina had, in 1832-1833, adopted the only formal ordinances of

4. See the resolutions of Jefferson Davis, nn. 116 and 127 below.
5. See nn. 46, 48, and 50 below.

nullification in American history, she did not hesitate to proclaim in 1860 that she considered herself released from all obligations under the Constitution because thirteen northern states had "enacted laws which either nullify the Acts of Congress or render useless any attempt to execute them."[6]

These are not random and accidental inconsistencies. They are evidence that the doctrine of state sovereignty, as applied to the the issue of slavery during the fifteen years before 1860, was by no means the kind of political philosophy it is popularly supposed to have been.

What we are up against is the profound yet subtle difference between a legal concept and a political philosophy. State sovereignty is, at bottom, a *legal* postulate. The idea that government should be decentralized and local autonomy cherished is an expression of political *philosophy*. One naturally assumes a close affinity between the legal concept of state sovereignty and the political philosophy that emphasizes local self-government, just as one naturally assumes a corresponding affinity between the legal concept of national supremacy and the policy of centralization or (in the language of the early republic) "consolidation." In most periods of American history this one-to-one relationship does, in fact, hold. But it does not hold for the constitutional controversy of 1846-1860 over slavery. During that period, conclusions of a markedly consolidationist tendency were regularly being deduced from state-sovereignty premises. How this logical feat was accomplished is the subject of the present paper.

Our concern, let me make clear at the outset, will be with doctrines of constitutional law, not with the purely rhetorical use of the phrases "state sovereignty" and "state rights." Few terms in the political vocabulary are endowed with such deep emotional connotations as these, and few are so variable in meaning. Few, therefore, serve so well the purposes of political rhetoric. A cherished principle can easily be labeled a "right," without imputing to it the status of a claim enforceable at law. Similarly, "sovereignty" can bestow a majestic tone to a political argument, without implying any precisely definable constitutional theory. Arguments about state sovereignty in the full-dress debates preceding the Civil

6. South Carolina, "Declaration," Dec. 24, 1860. *Journal of the Convention,* 464.

War cannot be dismissed, however, as simply rhetorical. Politicians who used the term insisted that it denoted a clear and definite legal conception, that it had precise constitutional consequences, and that the principles deduced from it were legally and constitutionally binding on everyone concerned with the making and enforcing of public policy. Without forgetting the emotional elements in the situation, we must here concentrate our attention upon the legal reasoning that made the controversy a constitutional one.

To understand the constitutional arguments of 1846-1860, it is obviously necessary to know precisely what the constitutional issues were. Moreover, as an essential preliminary, it is necessary to know what they were not.

Abolition of Slavery Not the Issue

The constitutional controversy over slavery that held the nation in its grip from 1846 to 1860 did not result from any proposal before Congress that would have interfered in any way with the complete and final authority of each slaveholding state to deal in any way it chose with any and every question relating to slavery within its own boundaries. No federal measure regulating slavery within the slaveholding states was proposed in Congress or in the platform of any organized political party.[7] No responsible figure in public office questioned the plenary constitutional authority of the slaveholding states to regulate the institution within their borders, and none denied that federal interference would be palpably unconstitutional.

The simple fact that the constitutional powers of the slaveholding states within their own boundaries were never seriously contested is so often blurred in historical discussions, and the opposite has been so often insinuated, that it will be well to place the historical record clearly, though briefly, on view.

Early in the second session of the First Congress, in February and March, 1790, the issue of slavery was brought before the House of

7. Even the Liberty Party of 1844, which presented the most extreme platform of the entire period, stopped short of advocating a federal law abolishing slavery, even though it openly repudiated any obligation to obey the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution. The party summed up its demands as "the absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from Slavery." Kirk H. Porter and Donald B. Johnson, eds., *National Party Platforms, 1840-1956* (Urbana, Ill., 1956), 4-8.

Representatives by a number of petitions urging Congress to "step to the very verge of the power vested in [it]," for the purpose of bringing slavery to an end.[8] In response the House carefully considered the extent of the powers that it believed the newly established government to possess in the matter. After a rancorous debate, two reports, somewhat different in tone though hardly in substance, were ordered spread upon the journal. On the point in question, the decision was clear:

> That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them within any of the States; it remaining with the several States alone to provide any regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require.[9]

The principle thus formulated in 1790 remained the unchallenged constitutional understanding until past the year 1861.

Only by amending the Constitution, therefore, could federal power be used to abolish slavery. Amendments to accomplish this end were offered in 1818 and 1839,[10] but the House immediately blocked their consideration. Between 1839 and 1863 — that is to say, throughout the entire period of bitterest constitutional con-

8. Memorial of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, signed by Benjamin Franklin as president, presented Feb. 12, 1790. *Annals of Congress,* 1 Cong., 2 Sess., 1197-98. The previous day two Quaker petitions had inaugurated the discussion. *Ibid.,* 1182-84. (Hereafter, H.R. will stand, in footnotes, for the House of Representatives.)

9. H.R., 1 Cong., 2 Sess., *Journal* (1826 ed.), 181 (March 23, 1790), Report of the Committee of the Whole House. A parallel report by a special committee had ended its discussion of this particular point with an expression of "the fullest confidence in the wisdom and humanity of the Legislatures of the several States, that they will . . . promote . . . every . . . measure that may tend to the happiness of slaves." *Ibid.,* 180. The special committee was appointed on Feb. 12 and reported on March 5; the report was debated for five days (March 16-19 and 22) in a committee of the whole house, which reported on March 22. In the end the House itself adopted neither report but instead voted, 29 to 25, that both reports "be inserted in the Journal" and then allowed to lie on the table. *Ibid.,* 157, 168, 176-81. The various debates on slavery during this session are in *Annals,* 1 Cong., 2 Sess., 1182-91, 1197-1205, 1414-17, 1450-74. See also William Maclay, *Journal . . . 1789-1791* (New York, 1890), 196, 221-22.

10. By Arthur Livermore (N.H.), H.R., April 4, 1818, and by John Quincy Adams (Mass.), H.R., Feb. 25, 1839. Herman V. Ames, *The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution . . . during the First Century of Its History* (American Historical Association, *Annual Report for 1896,* II, Washington, 1897), 334, 349 (items 474, 697-99).

flict over slavery — no proposal to amend the Constitution in this direction was so much as offered, let alone debated. On the other hand, certain amendments to *prevent* the possible abolition of slavery were proposed.[11] Indeed, the only amendment passed by Congress at the culminating moment of the crisis was of the latter character. On March 3, 1861, despite the fact that seven slaveholding states had already seceded, Congress voted to submit to the states an irrepealable amendment to the Constitution, couched in the following unambiguous (if somewhat ungrammatical) language:

> No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.[12]

This measure, be it noted, was not designed to inflame antislavery opinion and stir up controversy. On the contrary, it was an attempt at conciliation. As such, it was supported by Republicans who, at the very same time, were adamant against any compromise that might permit slavery to enter the territories. In its final form, the amendment was actually introduced by a Republican.[13] Republican votes contributed substantially to the two-thirds majority required for passage by the two houses.[14] The incoming Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, gave the amendment guarded approval in his Inaugural Address, delivered the day after Congress submitted the measure to the states. Pointing out that he considered "such a provision to now be implied constitutional law," Lincoln announced that he had "no objection to its being

11. For example, by John R. J. Daniel (N.C.), H.R., July 6, 1850. *Ibid.,* 354 (item 764). Others are noted, *ibid.,* 193, 195-97.

12. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution, March 2, 1861. *U.S. Statutes at Large,* XII: 251. The inept syntax almost prevented passage. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1364-67 (hereafter cited as *Globe*).

13. Thomas Corwin (Ohio), H.R., Feb. 27, 1861. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1263. In debate, authorship was attributed to no less a figure than William H. Seward, about to become Lincoln's Secretary of State. *Ibid.,* 1284.

14. The proposed amendment passed the House, 133 to 65, on Feb. 28, 1861. *Ibid.,* 1285. In the Senate the resolution was debated through most of the night of Sunday, March 3, 1861, the eve of Lincoln's inauguration. It finally passed 24 to 12 — eight Republicans, eight Democrats from free states, and eight members from slave states joining in the affirmative vote. *Ibid.,* 1403 (legislative day, March 2). Party affiliations are in *Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1861,* p. 17.

made express, and irrevocable."[15] The amendment was actually ratified by three of the states — two of them free — before events crowded it into oblivion.[16]

In supporting this iron-clad guarantee of slavery within the slaveholding states, the Republicans were not abandoning, but were reaffirming, their previously announced position. The fourth plank of their 1860 platform had said:

> That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends. . . .[17]

Lincoln quoted this paragraph in his Inaugural Address, and quoted also a passage from an earlier speech of his own: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."[18]

In view of this record of consistent acceptance by antislavery groups of the constitutional principle that the slaveholding states possessed plenary authority over slavery within their borders, what is one to make of the charge, endlessly repeated, that the opponents of slavery, and the Republicans in particular, believed "that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States"?[19]

Part of the answer, obviously, is that such assertions represented sheer distrust and hatred of abolitionists and "Black Republicans," the kind of hatred summed up in De Bow's definition of "Yankees" as "that species of the human race who foster in their hearts lying, hypocrisy, deceit, and treason."[20] Undoubtedly multitudes of men

15. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), IV: 270.

16. By Ohio (free state), May 13, 1861; Maryland (slaveholding), Jan. 10, 1862; Illinois (free), Feb. 14, 1862. Ames, *Proposed Amendments,* 363 (item 931).

17. Porter and Johnson, *National Party Platforms,* 32.

18. *Collected Works,* IV: 263; quoting from his first debate with Douglas, Ottawa, Ill., Aug. 21, 1858, *ibid.,* III: 16.

19. South Carolina, "Declaration," Dec. 24, 1860. *Journal of the Convention,* 465.

20. *De Bow's Review,* XXIII (1857): 209, quoted in J. G. de Roulhac

and women in the seceding states believed that the Republicans, once installed in power, would simply repudiate their constitutional professions and proceed to launch a direct federal attack upon the system of slavery inside the boundaries of the slaveholding states.[21]

Distrust, however, was not the whole of the matter. When

Hamilton, "Lincoln's Election an Immediate Menace to Slavery in the States?" *American Historical Review,* XXXVII (July, 1932): 710.

21. The fact that slavery was, in fact, abolished before the end of the Civil War is sometimes taken as proof of Republican duplicity in 1860-1861. Such a view overlooks the enormous changes wrought in the situation by the coming of war and also disregards the constitutional grounds on which successive actions, from 1862 to 1865, were based. For present purposes, it is the latter point only that calls for discussion. In 1862, the second year of the war, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories. Acts of April 16, 1862, chap. 54, and June 19, 1862, chap. 111, *U.S. Stat. at L.,* XII: 376, 432. Both measures were in accord with the avowed constitutional theory of the Republicans.

The most significant step was, of course, the Emancipation Proclamation (preliminary, Sept. 22, 1862; final, Jan. 1, 1863). This did not apply to slavery within the states that were loyal to the Union, but only to specified areas actually in arms against the United States. It did not represent the assertion of a federal power over slavery as such, but was justified solely by military necessity and was made to rest upon the so-called "war powers" of the executive. Lincoln's words were carefully chosen: "by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against [the] authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion." *Collected Works,* VI: 29 (for preliminary proclamation, see *ibid.*, V: 433-36). Likewise based upon military necessity was the second confiscation act of July 17, 1862, chap. 195, the ninth section of which gave freedom to slaves belonging to Confederate owners if the slaves escaped to the Union lines or were captured. *Stat. at L.,* XII: 589, at 591.

Throughout the whole period, Union leaders recognized that only a constitutional amendment could permit interference with slavery within the *loyal* slaveholding states. Lincoln proposed such a constitutional amendment, providing for gradual emancipation with federal financial aid, in his annual message to Congress on Dec. 1, 1862. *Collected Works,* V: 529-30. He had outlined the plan in a special message of March 6, 1862. *Ibid.,* 144-46. In the end, of course, slavery was definitively abolished by constitutional amendment — the Thirteenth — introduced on Jan. 11, 1864, reported in amended form by the judiciary committee of the Senate on Feb. 10, 1864, passed by the Senate on April 8, 1864 and by the House on Jan. 31, 1865, and proclaimed a part of the Constitution (after ratification by three fourths of the states) on Dec. 18, 1865. Ames, *Proposed Amendments,* 366-67 (items 983, 985). The earliest amendments to this effect were proposed on Dec. 14, 1863 — the first of the sort since 1839. *Ibid.,* 366 (items 981-82).

we look carefully at the phrases used by the opposing sides, we discover that their statements were not, as they first appear to be, mutually contradictory. Lincoln's pledge not to "interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists" was simply a pledge not to take federal action against slavery within the confines of the slaveholding states. It did not deny the intention of the Republicans to employ against slavery every power falling within the normal domain of federal action, and did not deny the aim of constricting and hampering the institution "until it shall cease throughout the United States." On the other hand, the charge directed by South Carolina against the Republicans was not necessarily a charge that they intended to abolish slavery by direct federal action within the states. From the proslavery point of view, there was no difference between direct and indirect action. The very fact that a measure was deliberately designed to undermine slavery made it automatically unconstitutional, no matter how indirect the means employed.[22] This difference of viewpoint was the crux of the constitutional controversy of 1846-1860.

Extraterritorial Implications of Slavery

The question at issue — and this is a point of fundamental importance — was not the institution of slavery itself as it existed within the boundaries of a slaveholding state. These formed an impregnable barrier against federal interference, as even the most ardent opponents of slavery were bound to concede. That they did concede the point is proved by the very form the dispute over slavery assumed. The fact that the controversy of 1846-1860 turned on the extension of slavery to the territories (and, to a lesser extent, on the fugitive-slave law) showed that antislavery leaders, far from flouting the Constitution, were showing it a punctilious respect. Had they been disposed, as their opponents alleged, to ride roughshod over constitutional limitations, they would hardly have bothered with the question of the territories or the question of fugitive slaves. If direct federal action against slavery in the states had been constitutionally thinkable, there would have been no reason to fritter effort away on tangential matters involving, not the great mass of bondsmen, but only a scattered few.

22. See n. 99 below.

There was an opposite face to this coin. Had the defenders of slavery, for their part, been confident that the institution was safe behind its state-erected bastions, they too would have had little reason to stake so much on peripheral issues like the territories and the handful of escaping slaves. Their conduct revealed their fears. Slavery, they believed, could easily be imperiled by forces that existed and events that occurred in areas beyond the limits within which the institution was established and protected. On one proposition both sides agreed: that slavery could be dealt a fatal blow by federal policies that were operative only outside the boundaries of the slaveholding states.

The struggle that took place between 1846 and 1860 was a struggle for control over these external policies. It was, in short, a controversy over the *extraterritorial* protection that the institution of slavery was entitled to enjoy. The extraterritorial implications of slavery — seldom described in these terms and seldom analyzed to determine their true nature — provide the indispensable key to an understanding of the constitutional controversy of 1846-1860. To explore the ramifications of this concept is the task before us.

Extraterritoriality is, first of all, a concept of international law. Significant, therefore, is the fact that the extraterritorial claims of the slaveholding states — that is to say, their assertion of a power to take action beyond their own boundaries to repress influences deemed inimical to slavery — were baldly asserted, at the very beginning of the period of controversy, in several diplomatic communications. In 1843 Great Britain was supposedly encouraging the independent Republic of Texas to undertake compensated emancipation. Alarmed by this, the American Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur of Virginia, sent confidential instructions to the minister of the United States at the Court of St. James's, Edward Everett. Upshur wrote as follows:

> It is quite obvious that slavery could not easily be maintained in a country surrounded by other countries whose Governments did not recognise that institution. The difficulty in the present case would be increased by the fact that those countries would be inhabited by people of the same race with the slave owners, speaking the same language, having the same manners, and in many respects the same institutions. Our slaveholding States are separated from the Canadas by many intervening non-slaveholding States of our Union. Although

those non-slaveholding States are as much opposed to the institution as England herself, yet the Constitution of the United States lays them under obligations in regard to it, which, if duly respected, would secure the rights of the slaveholder. . . .

Texas, however, lies immediately on the border of Louisiana and Arkansas. The slave would have nothing more to do than simply to cross the Sabine or the Red river, and he would find himself a freeman. He would be very sure to profit by the opportunity. All the vigilance which the master could use, enforced even by a harsher discipline than he would be willing to exert, would avail nothing. Within a few years a large proportion of the slaves within reach of the border would seek refuge in Texas; and the remainder would be rendered valueless, by discontent and dangerous insubordination. The slaveholder ought not to submit, and would not submit, to this.[23]

Several weeks earlier Upshur had spelled out what he meant by saying that slaveholders "ought not to submit, and would not submit." In a communication to General W. S. Murphy, American chargé d'affaires in Texas, Upshur described the probable consequences of emancipation in that republic:

Even if this Government should interpose for the protection of the slaveholder, it would be very difficult so to arrange the subject as to avoid disputes and collisions. The States immediately interested would be most likely to take the subject into their own hands. . . . They would assume the right to reclaim their slaves by force, and for that purpose would invade the territory of Texas.[24]

This was an extreme statement of the view that the slaveholding states were justified in attempting to control the internal policies of other states whenever those policies threatened, even indirectly, to affect the institution of slavery adversely. Upshur wished to incorporate this extraterritorial principle into our relations with foreign states, and he appeared even to condone irregular armed incursions to enforce the demand. As applied to states within the American Union, the extraterritorial claim was translated into con-

23. A. P. Upshur to Edward Everett, Sept. 28, 1843 (confidential), in Senate Document 341, 28 Cong., 1 Sess., 34-35.

24. Upshur to Murphy, Aug. 8, 1843. *Ibid.*, 21. Further discussion of the international implications of slavery is beyond the scope of the present paper. On the abolition of the foreign slave trade and on such cases as those of the *Amistad* and the *Creole,* see any of the standard histories.

stitutional language and the hint of violent self-help disappeared. Nevertheless the doctrine still involved the extraterritorial protection of slavery.

The Question of Fugitive Slaves

One extraterritorial right connected with slavery was clearly and explicitly recognized by the written Constitution of the United States. Upshur alluded to it. This was the right of a slaveowner to reclaim a slave who might escape into a free state. The constitutional provision on the subject had so important a bearing on all the extraterritorial claims advanced in behalf of slavery that it should be quoted in full:

> No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.[25]

The most significant fact about the fugitive-slave clause was that it provided for the extraterritorial operation of the laws of the slaveholding states. If a slave escaped from his master, the laws of the state where he had been held in bondage clung to him, no matter to what part of the Union he might flee. With respect to him, the federal Constitution itself automatically annulled any law of a free state that might tend to emancipate him. The fugitive-slave clause was of unique importance to the proslavery argument. Not only was it the only provision of the Constitution that explicitly recognized the slaveowner's right of property in his slave, it was also — and more importantly — the only one that gave any extraterritorial effect to state laws establishing slavery. As such, it provided the indispensable foundation for every other type of extraterritorial claim in behalf of slavery. Whether the number of escaping slaves was large or small made little difference.[26] The fugitive-slave clause must be sustained because its collapse would

25. Constitution of the United States, Art. IV, sec. 2, clause 3. Curiously enough, escape into a free *territory* was covered only by implication. Even the bitterest opponents of slavery, however, declined to split this particular hair.

26. On the controversial question of the numbers involved, see Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), II: 489.

mean the collapse of the entire contention that the federal government was bound to safeguard slavery outside the institution's established borders.

The principle at stake was so vital to the proslavery argument that extravagant assertions were constantly made to the effect that the fugitive-slave clause represented a fundamental bargain struck at the time the Constitution was drafted. Thus Lawrence M. Keitt of South Carolina told the House of Representatives that "the fugitive slave clause was put into the Constitution as the price of the splendid cession of the Northwest by Virginia, and as the price of the Government, too."[27] John J. Jones of Georgia insisted that "without such a constitutional guarantee it is evident that the slaveholding States never would have ratified the Constitution."[28] Robert Toombs of Georgia asserted that the obligation to return fugitive slaves, far from originating in the Constitution, "has been a fundamental principle of society for thirty centuries."[29] The facts were rather different. A fugitive-slave clause had been inserted in the Northwest Ordinance of July 13, 1787, *coupled with* a provision prohibiting slavery throughout the entire region.[30] Near

27. Jan. 25, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 96. Certain principles of the law of contracts explain this insistence that the fugitive-slave clause was an absolutely fundamental constitutional bargain. "Before partial failure of performance of one party will give the other the right of rescission, the act failed to be performed must go to the root of the contract, or the failure to perform the contract must be in respect to matters which would render the performance of the rest a thing different in substance from that which was contracted for." On the other hand, if "a breach . . . deprives the injured party of a benefit of but one of [the] subsidiary provisions or promises," then "he is left to redress his injury by an action for compensation in damages." William M. McKinney and Burdett A. Rich, eds., *Ruling Case Law,* VI (Northport, N.Y., 1915): 926. With the possibility of secession in their minds, proslavery leaders were insisting that failure to enforce the fugitive-slave clause abrogated the whole Constitution. They were outraged by a proposal that compensation for escaped slaves be substituted for enforcement of the fugitive-slave law. See Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States* (Philadelphia, 1868-1870), II: 48-49, 58, 77-79.

28. H.R., April 23, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 246. The seventh of Jefferson Davis's resolutions in the Senate in 1860 (see n. 116 below) dealt with the fugitive-slave clause "without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed." *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 2350 (resolution adopted May 25, 1860).

29. Senate, Jan. 24, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 89.

30. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States,* II (Washington, 1934): 49.

the end of the Constitutional Convention, on August 28, 1787, a similar provision for the return of fugitive slaves was proposed and briefly discussed. The next day the clause, slightly altered in form, was adopted *nemine contradicente*.[31] The following year, in the Virginia ratifying convention, James Madison put the clause in a perspective totally different from Toombs's. "At present," he said, "if any slave elopes to any of those states where slaves are free, he becomes emancipated by their laws. For the laws of the states are uncharitable to one another in this respect." The fugitive-slave clause of the proposed Constitution, Madison continued, "was expressly inserted to enable owners of slaves to reclaim them. This is a better security than any that now exists."[32]

The fugitive-slave clause was hardly a fundamental compact, but it *was* a provision of the Constitution, and a failure to enforce it was a quite legitimate grievance. The more conservative leaders of the Republican Party recognized the obligation. "It is scarcely questioned," said Lincoln in his first Inaugural Address, "that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution — to this provision as much as to any other." Ought anyone, he asked, to "be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to *how* it shall be kept?"[33]

Lincoln was undoubtedly sincere, but he did not speak in this matter for important segments of his own party. Ardent abolitionists had long gloried in defying and violating the fugitive-slave act. Even before the law was made harsher in 1850, the Liberty Party had declared in its platform of 1844 that the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution was contrary both to the laws of God and to natural right, hence "utterly null and void," and that it was to be regarded "as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States."[34] After the new fugitive-slave law of 1850 was enacted, open and organized violation of its provisions — through the so-

31. Max Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1911-1937), II: 443, 453-54. A slight verbal revision was made on Sept. 15, 1787. *Ibid.*, 628.

32. *Ibid.*, III: 325 (June 17, 1788).

33. *Collected Works,* IV: 263-64.

34. Porter and Johnson, *National Party Platforms,* 8.

called "Underground Railway" and through deliberately publicized slave rescues — became commonplace.

Objections to the Fugitive-Slave Act

It was not defiance of the law, however, but attempted nullification of it, that made the question of fugitive slaves a constitutional issue. And nullification did not mean a total repudiation of the constitutional obligation. It represented, instead, a denial of the constitutionality of the *statute* of 1850 by which the obligation was enforced. There were substantial grounds for such constitutional objection. The fugitive-slave law of 1850 authorized summary procedures lacking virtually all the normal legal safeguards that are summed up in the phrase of the Bill of Rights, "due process of law." Decisions were not to be made by regularly constituted courts but by court-appointed commissioners who exercised simply the powers of a justice of the peace. No jury trial was provided. The only evidence required was the deposition or affidavit of the claimant. The statute ordered that "in no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence." The commissioner who decided the claim would receive, for sending a Negro back into bondage, twice the fee he could collect were he to find the man free. And the commissioner's decision, once made, constituted a complete answer to a writ of *habeas corpus* issued by any court, state or federal.[35] Provisions like these appeared to antislavery men to subvert constitutional rights of a far more fundamental character than any the fugitive-slave clause was designed to protect. Representative James Wilson of Indiana stated the issue clearly:

> But why is this act offensive? It is not in the unwillingness on the part of the people of the free States to permit the rendition of a fugitive slave. . . . Sir, it lies deeper, and far beyond. It is in the conviction that this fugitive slave law comes in conflict with and uproots great fundamental principles, and assumes unwarrantable and dangerous powers. Is this so? Is this true? Examine the law. Does it not recognize an officer unknown to the Constitution? Does it not deny the trial by jury in the issue of liberty? Does it not set at defiance

35. Fugitive-slave act, Sept. 18, 1850, chap. 60. *U.S. Stat. at L.,* IX: 462. The quoted sentence is from the sixth section, which included most of the other provisions mentioned; fees were prescribed in the eighth section.

the sovereignty of the State? . . . . Does it not withhold the great writ of *habeas corpus?* I repeat again, examine the law. For this cause it is that the law has been arraigned and condemned by the people of the free States.[36]

Defenders of the fugitive-slave act of 1850 argued "that the law was not intended to try the right of property, whether the fugitive was the property of the claimant, or whether he was free; that the Constitution did not design that, but that, if there was to be any question about the right of property, it was to be determined in the State whence the fugitive escaped."[37] This answer might be technically correct, but from the antislavery point of view it was quite unsatisfactory. Slave property, James Wilson insisted, should "be reclaimed and surrendered under the same rules of evidence, and with the same restrictions, as other property."[38] Moreover, the right to property was only part of the question; the right to liberty was involved as well. There always existed a possible doubt whether a particular Negro who might be pointed out as a fugitive slave was so in fact. This particular fact, insisted the opponents of the fugitive-slave law, should be judicially determined before the individual was removed from the jurisdiction of a free state and placed on the soil of a slaveholding one, the laws of which made different presumptions. Because the liberty of a man who might be a freeman was at stake, the issue should be tried by jury; and the state of which he might in fact be a bona fide resident ought to be able to protect him against kidnapping by issuing the writ of *habeas corpus*. John P. Hale of New Hampshire summed up the antislavery objection in a speech to the Senate in 1860:

The great mistake of the gentlemen who passed this law . . . is this: they assume at the outset that the man whom they claim is a slave, and they give him no sort of rights as a freeman, but only the rights of a slave after that. That is what I complain of; that you may go into one of the free States under this law, and lay your hand on a man who was born there, has lived there all his life, and if he comes within the description of your *ex parte* affidavits taken a thousand miles off, and [if] you can get a ten dollar commissioner to give a certificate, the

36. H.R., May 1, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 323.
37. James M. Mason (Va.), Senate, May 25, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 2351.
38. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 323.

habeas corpus of the State judiciary lies paralyzed at his feet, and the man who is claimed has to go.[39]

Though the dispute over fugitive slaves was in form a dispute over statutory enactments and their effective enforcement, it was in reality a dispute over the spirit in which the Constitution should be interpreted when rights of different sorts came into conflict. Partisans of slavery could find in the Constitution no provisions that applied in any way to Negroes, save the one provision upholding the right of a slaveholder to his slave. No other constitutional guarantees had any relevance, and to invoke them was deliberate obstructionism. Representative Eli S. Shorter of Alabama put the matter bluntly:

> If fugitive slaves are to have the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus and jury trial in the North, the South might as well consent at once to strike out from our Constitution the right of recapture. We want the *substance,* not the mere *shadow* of our rights.[40]

From the antislavery point of view, on the other hand, the rights of persons, especially the right to impartial legal procedures, were guaranteed by the Constitution just as explicitly, and even more comprehensively and absolutely, than the property rights arising from slaveownership. This was, at bottom, what was meant by a "higher law." The idea foreshadowed the more generalized

39. May 25, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 2351.

40. H.R., April 9, 1856. *Globe,* 34 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 396. Shorter destroyed whatever foundation his argument might have had, by going on to assert that the federal "fugitive slave law of 1850 *denies* to the slave the right of trial by jury and habeas corpus," and by arguing from this that a state personal-liberty law is invalid because it "*confers* that right upon him, and thereby conflicts with the act of Congress" (italics added). *Ibid.* These contentions cannot be reconciled with any possible theory of the American Constitution, which never treats rights as having been *conferred* by government of any sort. To say that an act of Congress *denied* the writ of *habeas corpus* in peacetime to any persons who might conceivably be entitled to it was to admit the unconstitutionality of the act, in view of the provision of the federal Constitution that the writ "shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it." Art. I, sec. 9, clause 2. The only argument that could possibly be made to hold water was Taney's, namely that the Constitution regarded "the negro race as a separate class of persons," not "a portion of the people or citizens of the Government," and that it did not intend "to confer on them or their posterity the blessings of liberty, or any of the personal rights so carefully provided for the citizen." Dred Scott v. Sandford, 19 Howard 393, at 411 (March 6, 1857).

mid-twentieth-century doctrine that certain guarantees of the Bill of Rights occupy a "preferred position" in the hierarchy of constitutional values.[41]

This deep-lying constitutional conflict — between the right to property and the right to liberty — was never seriously considered by the Supreme Court while slavery existed. The fugitive-slave act of 1850 was, it is true, upheld by a unanimous court, but in an exceedingly offhand way:

> But although we think it unnecessary to discuss these questions, yet, as they have been decided by the state court, and are before us on the record, and we are not willing to be misunderstood, it is proper to say that, in the judgment of this court, the act of Congress commonly called the fugitive slave act is, in all of its provisions, fully authorized by the Constitution of the United States.[42]

It was not the question of personal liberty but a much more technical question — albeit one of great constitutional importance — that brought the fugitive-slave act before the Supreme Court and occasioned the decision containing the perfunctory sentence just quoted.

Personal Liberty Laws and the Booth Case

The written Constitution was quite clear in upholding the right of a slaveowner to recapture his escaped slave, but it was highly ambiguous in assigning responsibility for making this right effective. The fugitive-slave clause was closely associated with a clause for the extradition of criminals, and this association suggested

41. For a concise discussion of Supreme Court opinions, pro and con, on the idea of "preferred position," see Edward S. Corwin, ed., *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation* (Washington, 1953), 789-91.

42. Ableman v. Booth, and U.S. v. Booth, 21 Howard 506, at 526 (March 7, 1859). The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts had upheld the constitutionality of the fugitive-slave law of 1850 shortly after its enactment. Thomas Sims's case, 7 Cushing 285 (April 7, 1851). Two months after the decision in Ableman v. Booth, the Supreme Court of Ohio likewise upheld the act, citing the opinion of the United States Supreme Court, of course, but also independently examining the precedents and arguments. The Ohio court divided three to two, and in the four opinions filed the various constitutional issues involved were given the most thorough consideration they were ever to receive at the hands of any judicial body. Ex parte Bushnell, and Ex parte Langston, 9 Ohio State Reports 77 (May, 1859). With the outbreak of the Civil War, the fugitive-slave

that individual states might be expected to deal with fugitive slaves as a matter of interstate comity. On the other hand, the right to reclaim slaves was a right guaranteed by the federal Constitution, and from this could be inferred both a federal power and a federal duty. In 1842 a majority of the Supreme Court took the latter view, not only upholding the federal fugitive-slave act of 1793 (and paving the way for the subsequent act of 1850) but also asserting that the individual states had no concurrent power (and hence no concurrent responsibility) in the matter.[43] This ruling (by a divided court) was an open invitation to states with antislavery leanings not only to refuse co-operation but also to experiment with statutes — the so-called "personal liberty laws" — that placed every legal obstacle that ingenuity could devise athwart the path of the would-be recoverer of an escaped slave.

These actions by the free states constituted "interposition" and "nullification," in a pure and classic sense. Indeed, the personal-liberty laws stood in a much more direct line of descent from the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 than did any of the ingenious theories elaborated by John C. Calhoun in the late 1820's and 1830's.[44] The personal-liberty laws applied the doctrine of interposition to exactly the kind of situation that, in 1798, prompted

act became almost a dead letter, though it was not finally repealed until June 28, 1864, chap. 166. *U.S. Stat. at L.,* XIII: 200. In the meantime, on March 13, 1862, chap. 40, Congress had expressly forbidden the use of military personnel "for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons" — including persons in the loyal slaveholding states. *Stat. at L.,* XII: 354. Nominally the latter might still employ civil procedures under the act. Reviewing the issues from the perspective of 1921 (which is not necessarily the perspective of 1961), Allen Johnson reached the conclusion that the fugitive-slave acts were "constitutional in every particular." Johnson, "The Constitutionality of the Fugitive-Slave Acts," *Yale Law Journal,* XXXI (Nov., 1921): 161-82.

43. Prigg v. Pennsylvania, 16 Peters 539 (1842).

44. Calhoun's argument in 1828-1832 for nullifying the tariff diverged, in highly significant ways, from the argument used to justify interposition both in the late 1790's against the sedition act and in the 1850's against the fugitive-slave act. Calhoun was seeking to defend the economic interests of a state, not the freedom of any of its citizens. He and his followers were not arguing that the tariff infringed upon rights guaranteed to individuals by the Constitution; they merely argued that the tariff represented the *misuse* of a power — the "Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises" — delegated in set terms to the federal government. And South Carolina, following his lead, asserted, on the part of the state, not a mere power to protect its own citizens against the penalties they

Jefferson and Madison to promulgate the original theory.[45] In 1798 and in the 1850's the federal law being challenged was one that, in the opinion of its opponents, not only deprived individuals of personal freedom but also, by its very manner of doing so, violated both the letter and the spirit of specific constitutional guarantees of individual rights. On both occasions the opponents of the measure were thoroughly convinced that the federal courts, in view of their existing attitude, would never rule against the validity of the statute in question. On both occasions, accordingly, opponents of the law argued that it was within the competence of a state to interpose its authority as a shield to protect persons within its own jurisdiction from deprivation of their constitutionally guaranteed personal rights.

The conflict between the constitutional philosophy embodied in the personal-liberty laws of the various northern states and the constitutional philosophy embodied in the fugitive-slave act of 1850 came to a head in the welter of cases that arose, in state and federal courts, out of the rescue of a fugitive slave who had been apprehended by his master in Wisconsin in 1854. The principal figure in the mob that snatched the slave from jail and spirited him off to Canada and freedom was an abolitionist editor named Sherman M. Booth. Prosecuted by federal authorities as a violator of the fugitive-slave act, Booth was twice freed, in 1854 and 1855, from federal custody by writs of *habeas corpus* issued by the Wisconsin Supreme Court, one writ preceding and one following his conviction in a district court of the United States. The Wisconsin judiciary declared the federal fugitive-slave act unconstitutional and argued that unless the state could liberate its own citizens from imprisonment under an invalid statute, then it "would present the spectacle of a state claiming the allegiance of its citizens, without the power to protect them in the enjoyment of their personal

might incur for violation of an allegedly unconstitutional statute, but a power to suspend the law in its entirety and to use the full power of the state "to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation" of the federal statute. Massachusetts, General Court, *State Papers on Nullification* (Boston, 1834); see p. 29 for the quoted phrase from the nullification ordinance of South Carolina, Nov. 24, 1832.

45. See Adrienne Koch and Harry Ammon, "The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions: An Episode in Jefferson's and Madison's Defense of Civil Liberties," *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, V (April, 1948): 145-76.

liberty upon its own soil."[46] Here, succinctly stated, is the original state-rights doctrine of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798.

The various cases, considered together on appeal, were finally decided by the United States Supreme Court on March 7, 1859, with Chief Justice Roger B. Taney speaking for a unanimous court. Taney overruled the Wisconsin judiciary on all points and upheld the supremacy of the federal Constitution and the federal courts so forcefully as "to enhance the federal judicial power to a degree beyond that envisaged even by Marshall and Story."[47] The question of sovereignty was discussed, and the court rejected completely the contention that sovereignty could not be divided, that it inhered in the states alone, and that the federal government lacked its attributes.

On the contrary, Taney argued as follows:

There can be no such thing as judicial authority, unless it is conferred by a Government or sovereignty; and if the judges and courts of Wisconsin possess the jurisdiction they claim, they must derive it either from the United States or the State. It certainly has not been conferred on them by the United States; and it is equally clear it was not in the power of the State to confer it, even if it had attempted to do so; for no State can authorize one of its judges or courts to exercise judicial power, by *habeas corpus* or otherwise, within the jurisdiction of another and independent Government. And although the State of Wisconsin is sovereign within its territorial limits to a certain extent, yet that sovereignty is limited and restricted by the Constitution of the United States.

46. In re Booth and Rycraft, 3 Wisconsin 157, at 176, opinion of Chief Justice Edward V. Whiton (Feb. 3, 1855). See also (for the first writ issued) In re Sherman Booth, 3 Wisconsin 1 (June 7, 1854); and (for a writ that was denied) Ex parte Sherman M. Booth, 3 Wisconsin 145 (July 21, 1854).

47. Corwin, ed., *Constitution . . . Analysis,* 555. The allusions are to Justice Joseph Story's decision in Martin v. Hunter's Lessee, 1 Wheaton 304 (March 20, 1816), and Chief Justice John Marshall's decision in Cohens v. Virginia, 6 Wheaton 264 (March 3, 1821). One might add that Taney's statement of national supremacy was as sweeping as President Andrew Jackson's in his proclamation to the people of South Carolina, Dec. 10, 1832. *State Papers on Nullification,* 75-97. The precedent is apposite because Taney was Jackson's Attorney General at the time, though he did not, it is true, participate actively in the drafting of the proclamation, which was largely the work of Edward Livingston. Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1935), 207.

The statesmen who framed the Constitution and the people who adopted it were convinced, said Taney,

that it was necessary that many of the rights of sovereignty which the States then possessed should be ceded to the General Government; and that, in the sphere of action assigned to it, it should be supreme, and strong enough to execute its own laws by its own tribunals, without interruption from a State or from State authorities.[48]

Taney's argument for the judicial supremacy of the federal government was so sweeping, and his commitment to the idea of divided sovereignty so complete, that at first glance he would appear to have struck a fatal blow at the entire doctrine of state sovereignty. In the long run, so far as constitutional law was concerned, the decision in Ableman v. Booth did have precisely this effect. In any discussion of national supremacy the case is almost certain to figure among the important precedents. And, by the irony of history, it is cited in many recent decisions striking down measures adopted by various southern states (in the name of state sovereignty), as part of their campaign of resistance to racial desegregation by court order in the public schools.[49]

National Supremacy and State Sovereignty

In its immediate historical context — in 1859 and 1860 — the decision in Ableman v. Booth did not, however, convey to the public mind the implication of unqualified national supremacy that it conveys today. The decision was welcomed, naturally enough, by the partisans of slavery. Furthermore, they were conscious of no inconsistency in hailing it as a triumph for their own position. They considered it not a repudiation of the doctrine of state sovereignty but a vindication of one of the most important corollaries of that doctrine — namely, its extraterritorial implications.

The paradox disappears if one pays close attention to the limits

48. Ableman v. Booth, 21 Howard 506, at 515, 517 (March 7, 1859).

49. Notably in Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1, at 18 (Sept. 29, 1958). See also the decision of the three-judge federal district court in New Orleans, Nov. 30, 1960, which examined at length the historic doctrine of interposition and rejected it with brusque finality as "an amorphous concept," which was clearly "not a *constitutional* doctrine," but was, "if taken seriously," simply an "illegal defiance of constitutional authority." Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 188 Federal Supplement 916, at 922, 926 (Nov. 30, 1960); citing Ableman v. Booth at 925.

within which Taney was careful to confine his argument. It is an error to say, as is often loosely said, that the decision in Ableman v. Booth upheld federal supremacy in a comprehensive or inclusive sense. It upheld federal *judicial* supremacy only, the argument being closely confined to the power of that one branch of government. The limits to federal legislative power *might* have been examined had the constitutionality of the fugitive-slave act been discussed in detail. But Taney dismissed the latter question in a single sentence, devoid of argument or citation. Nothing whatever in the opinion could be taken to imply that the supremacy so sweepingly asserted on behalf of the federal judiciary *vis-à-vis* the judiciaries of the several states had any sort of counterpart in the legislative or executive realm. Quite the reverse. Taney included in his decision an explicit reminder that "it is the duty of the courts of the United States to declare . . . unconstitutional and void" any federal statute that transgressed the Constitution, and he pointed out that the courts, by doing so, would "guard the States from any encroachment upon their reserved rights by the General Government."[50]

Two years before, in the Dred Scott case, Taney had denied to Congress any legislative power whatever in a matter that had become of crucial importance — slavery in the territories. He was by no means reversing his earlier decision. On the contrary, he was buttressing it against attack. In the Dred Scott opinion, Taney had pitted the judicial power against the legislative; in Ableman v. Booth he was exalting the judicial power to new heights.

In legal form, the decision in Ableman v. Booth was a vindication of federal judicial supremacy. In the actual historical context, however, federal judicial supremacy did not mean the supremacy of national policy over local or sectional policy. It meant precisely the reverse. It meant the denial to the federal government of any discretionary, policy-making function whatever in the matter of slavery. Questions regarding slavery were to be settled by the states that recognized the institution. And the federal judiciary — acting under the Constitution (which likewise recognized slavery) — was bound to give effect, extraterritorially, to the legal principles developed by the slaveholding states in connection with the peculiar kind of property that they alone possessed and that they alone, ac-

50. Ableman v. Booth, 21 Howard 506, at 520.

cordingly, were competent to legislate about. Even within the boundaries of the free states, legal procedure was to follow strictly the pattern set by and within the slaveholding states, regardless of any concepts of due process of law that the free community might deem fundamental. The principle of extraterritoriality could hardly take a form more extreme.

The controversy that reached its climax in the Booth case is conventionally interpreted as a conflict between federal supremacy on the one hand and state rights or state sovereignty on the other. Much is naturally made of the irony of the situation, the two factions to the slavery dispute having apparently switched their constitutional positions abruptly, in flagrant pursuit of immediate advantage.[51] A much more subtle analysis is necessary. It was not federal supremacy in general that the court upheld, but federal *judicial* supremacy. And federal judicial supremacy simply provided the means of enforcing the extraterritorial principles deduced from state sovereignty. In this particular conflict — to assert a paradox — the doctrine of state sovereignty was pitted against the doctrine of state rights, and the doctrine of state sovereignty won.

To make this distinction intelligible, I must digress briefly and ask the reader to examine with care the exact terminology of the American Constitution.

"Powers" and "Rights"

The written Constitution — with which, in the following discussion, the Bill of Rights is included — nowhere uses the words "sovereign" or "sovereignty."[52] Moreover, it knows nothing of

51. Thus Carl Schurz, an actual participant, later described the contest as one "in which the Republican party, the natural opponent of the States' rights doctrine . . . , planted itself upon extreme States' rights ground and went to the very verge of actual nullification, while the Democratic party, the traditional champion of the States' rights doctrine, became an ardent defender of the Federal power as against any pretensions of States' rights." But, he continued, "only two years later, when the bulk of the Slave States . . . had carried the States' rights doctrine to the logical length of secession," their opponents "rushed to arms to maintain the supreme authority of the Federal Government and to put down the pretensions of States' rights which were made in favor of slavery." "It was one of those struggles," he observed (quoting a remark of Lincoln's), "which . . . become so mixed that, in the heat of the wrestle, the combatants worked themselves into one another's coats." Schurz, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1907), II: 114-15.

52. The Articles of Confederation, agreed to by the Continental Con-

"rights" belonging either to the states or to the federal government. The foundation stone of the state-rights argument is the Tenth Amendment, but this amendment speaks not of the *rights* of the states but of their *powers:* "The powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."[53] The Constitution does, of course, speak frequently of "rights" — and occasionally of "privileges" or "immunities" — but in every instance the term refers to something possessed by an individual person, never something possessed, or capable of being possessed, by a government.[54] Frequently such an individual right is protected,

gress on Nov. 15, 1777, and finally ratified on March 1, 1781, did include the following provision: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every Power, Jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled." Art. II. Advocates of state sovereignty frequently argued that the Constitution of 1787 continued to embody the principle, though it conspicuously failed to include the clause.

53. The amendment is often flagrantly misquoted. At the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles in 1960, the southern minority submitted a dissenting report on the platform, insisting on "strict adherence to the constitutional guarantee that all powers not delegated by the states to the Union are reserved to the states or to the people." *New York Times*, July 13, 1960. Though the majority was said to "ignore the Tenth Amendment," the accusatorial minority deliberately ignored its provision referring to "powers . . . prohibited by it [the Constitution] to the States" — which is, of course, the crux of the matter. The constitutional situation, often misrepresented, is simply as follows: By the Fourteenth Amendment, the Constitution prohibits to every state the power to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The Supreme Court has ruled that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (May 17, 1954). Accordingly, any state action to enforce segregation in the public schools constitutes the use by the state of a prohibited power to "deny to any person . . . the equal protection of the laws." Thus the Tenth Amendment, by specifically recognizing that there are "powers . . . prohibited . . . to the States," raises no barrier to, but in fact gives support to, desegregation. In simplest terms, the question is not about powers delegated to the federal government but about powers prohibited to the states.

54. The body of the Constitution refers only once to a "right": it empowers Congress to secure "to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." Art. I, sec. 8, clause 8. On the other hand, the word appears in six of the first ten amendments, thereby justifying the popular appellation, "Bill of Rights." The body of the Constitution speaks of "Privileges and Immunities of Citizens"; and it uses the term "privilege" in two other connections: members of Congress are "privileged from Arrest." and "the Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus"

not positively by specifying the right, but negatively by denying to government some corresponding power.[55]

A clear-cut distinction pervades the entire written document. On the one hand, there are *powers,* which are exercised by government, which can be apportioned among the various branches and levels of government, and which can be denied to the federal government or to the states or to both. On the other hand are *rights,* which are enjoyed by citizens or persons, which can be set forth in positive terms, and which can also be defined negatively, by denying to one or another government a corresponding power. No usage inconsistent with this distinction is to be found anywhere in the written Constitution.[56] The distinction is recognized with absolute clarity in the companion clause to the Tenth Amendment, namely the Ninth, which reads: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." In summary, certain powers, but no rights, are delegated to the federal government. Certain other powers, but again no rights, are reserved to the states.[57] Other powers, ungranted to either type of government, remain in the

is safeguarded. See, respectively, Art. IV, sec. 2, and Art. I, secs. 6 and 9. The Bill of Rights does not use the word "privilege," but the phrase "privileges or immunities of citizens" reappears in the Fourteenth Amendment (1868). The word "power" is used throughout the Constitution — so frequently as to require no illustration.

55. One example will suffice to show the different modes by which a right is protected. The Seventh Amendment expressly *acknowledges* "the right of trial by jury," and the Sixth Amendment uses similar language. In the body of the Constitution, however, the same right is safeguarded by a positive *instruction*: "The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury." Art. III, sec. 2. The Fifth Amendment uses a *prohibition* to protect a related right: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury."

56. The Declaration of Independence is equally consistent, notably in its most memorable passage. All men, it says, "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable *Rights.*" Governments, on the other hand, derive "their just *powers* from the consent of the governed." (Italics added.) There is much less consistency in the terminology of the Articles of Confederation, which often couples "right and power," as in granting to the United States in Congress assembled "the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war. . . ." Art. IX.

57. As owners of property, of course, the states and the federal government do possess the ordinary rights associated with proprietorship. Moreover, they enjoy various immunities, both against one another (e.g., immunity from taxation) and against individual citizens (e.g., immunity

hands of the people, thus creating for them a body of unalienated rights. Among these are certain rights that are considered not merely unalienated but (in the language of the Declaration of Independence) unalienable. The latter are guaranteed in specific, positive terms by various clauses of the Constitution. Moreover, the enumeration of these particular rights may "not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Given this consistent terminology, the phrase "state rights" is, strictly speaking, a constitutional solecism. As a term denoting a specific constitutional principle, indeed, it does not appear to have been used until 1798, in the debates over the alien and sedition acts.[58] On this, its first appearance, however, the phrase was not so much a solecism as a bit of convenient shorthand. The question at issue — freedom of the press — involved a "right" in the strictest constitutional sense. The *power* of the state was thus being invoked to protect a *right*. Accordingly it is not a serious misuse of language to telescope the terms and describe the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 as a defense of "state rights." Nor is the latter phrase inappropriate to describe state interposition against the fugitive-slave act in the 1850's.

State Sovereignty a Doctrine of Power

The doctrine of state rights, defined in this way, is a purely defensive doctrine. Arguments about sovereignty may be used to support it, but its spirit is essentially hostile to all the leading ideas associated with the concept of sovereignty — particularly with the concept of sovereignty as an indivisible and illimitable power, wielded by a definitive body, which must be the sole and final judge of its own authority. The latter conception, however, was central to the doctrine of state sovereignty. And its roots lay in a political tradition that the makers of the American Constitution had consciously rejected. In every form of government, Sir William Black-

from suit). These, however, are not the "rights" for which the state-rights argument contends.

58. "The powers of our general Government are checked by State rights." Samuel Smith (Md.), H.R., June 21, 1798. *Annals,* 5 Cong., 2 Sess., 2022. Mitford M. Mathews, ed., *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Chicago, 1951), 1642, records no earlier use of the phrase in a technical constitutional sense. As a rhetorical expression, of course, it crops up earlier.

stone had written on the eve of the American Revolution, "there is and must be . . . a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority, in which the *jura summi imperii,* or the rights of sovereignty, reside."[59] From such a postulate the British declaratory act of 1766 logically followed: that the King in Parliament "had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of *America,* subjects of the crown of *Great Britain,* in all cases whatsoever."[60]

The American Revolution involved a rejection not only of British sovereignty but also, in a profound and pervasive way, of the very concept of indivisible and uncontrollable sovereignty. The theory of divided sovereignty superseded it.[61] And the doctrine of state rights (as here defined) was perfectly compatible with the idea of divided sovereignty. By contrast, the doctrine of state sovereignty represented a return to the theory that sovereignty is, by its very nature, indivisible. Jefferson Davis, for example, dismissed the notion of divided sovereignty as "paradoxical." He insisted that "the only political community — the only independent corporate unit — through which the people can exercise their sovereignty, is the State." And he quoted with approval Burlamaqui's definition of sovereignty as "a right of commanding in the last resort in civil society."[62]

The doctrine of state sovereignty was not a doctrine of rights, but a doctrine of command and of power, imperious in its language, bristling with words like "supreme," "irresistible," "absolute," "uncontrolled," "paramount." Extraterritoriality, too, is an imperious principle, overriding local law and local custom and negating the idea of local self-government. These characteristics appeared in the conflict over fugitive slaves. The extraterritorial claims of the slaveholding states were to be enforced regardless of the views

59. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-1769), Introduction, sec. 2, p. 49.

60. 6 George III, chap. 12 (March 18, 1766). Accepted without question by Blackstone, Introduction, sec. 4, p. 109.

61. The acceptance by the Constitutional Convention of 1787 of the principle of divided sovereignty will be discussed in the book from which the present paper is drawn. Space does not permit a recapitulation here. For the concept itself, however, see the quotations from Taney, n. 48 above.

62. Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York, 1881), I: 141-42.

of the community within which the law was to be executed. Because this particular extraterritorial claim was recognized by the federal Constitution, state sovereignty could be made effective through the use of federal power. On the surface, therefore, the legal vindication of the proslavery position appeared to be simply a victory for federal supremacy. The legal form of the fugitive-slave decision, however, should not be allowed to obscure the fundamental role played by the doctrine of state sovereignty and its extraterritorial corollaries.

The Question of Slavery in the Territories

The doctrine of state sovereignty played its most important role, however, in the conflict over slavery in the territories. In this conflict, moreover, it revealed itself even more clearly as a naked doctrine of power. Finally, the extraterritorial corollaries of state sovereignty constituted the indispensable foundation of the proslavery argument concerning the territories.

At this point a change of terminology becomes imperative, as the awkwardness of the last sentence indicates. The asserted right of a slaveowner to take his slaves into the territories and to hold and exploit them there is properly described as an extraterritorial right, for it was a right that was to be exercised and protected outside the territory of the state that created the right in the first place. Nevertheless, intolerable confusion results if one describes by the term *extra*territorial a right that was to be exercised *within* what was officially known as a "territory." To avoid this difficulty I propose, in the pages that follow, to employ as a synonym for "extraterritorial" a rather awkward neologism — namely, "extra-jurisdictional," meaning a right (or a power) exercised beyond the jurisdiction of the state in which it originated.[63]

Now the right to reclaim a fugitive slave was an extra-jurisdictional right explicitly recognized by the Constitution. But a right to carry slaves into the territories was nowhere mentioned in the written document. On the other hand, no power to prohibit the introduction of slaves was mentioned either. Every constitutional theory concerning the extension of slavery was thus a structure of pure inference — inference either from certain phrases of the written

63. Not to be confused, of course, with "extrajudicial," defined as "forming no part of the case before the court." *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.*

Constitution, or inference from past precedents, or inference from some abstract theory about the Constitution. The latter sort of inference predominated in the discussions — as, for example, when the antislavery forces invoked a "higher law," moral in content, or when the proponents of "squatter" sovereignty invoked the principle of local self-determination, or when (to return to our immediate subject) the defenders of slavery invoked the doctrine of state sovereignty.

It is a curious fact that though the American Constitution was designed for an expanding nation, the western territories have always been anomalies in the scheme. It is conventional to say that the Constitution created a dual system, composed of the federal government and the states. In reality the Union has always comprised three elements, the federal government, the states, *and* the territories. Only in recent years have the latter declined to a place of relative insignificance in the constitutional structure. All but nineteen of the existing fifty states have passed through a formal territorial stage. Almost three quarters of the continental area of the United States has been, at one time or another, under a territorial government established by federal statute.[64]

The anomalous position of the territories in the constitutional scheme is simply this: Within the parts of the Union fully organized into states, the Constitution recognizes the existence of two governments, state and federal, operating simultaneously but independently and acting directly upon individuals. To each government a sphere of authority is constitutionally assigned. International and interstate relations are the supposed province of federal action. Ques-

64. The exceptions were: the thirteen original states; two states that were almost immediately admitted (Vermont in 1791 and Kentucky in 1792); and four others for which the circumstances were exceptional: Maine (admitted in 1820 by consent of Massachusetts, of which it had been a part), Texas (annexed as a full-fledged state in 1845), California (admitted in 1850 under a state constitution that had been adopted before territorial government was extended over the Mexican cession), and West Virginia (which seceded from Virginia and was admitted in 1863). The present boundaries of these nineteen states include a gross area of 856,122 square miles, compared with 3,022,387 for continental United States as a whole (excluding Alaska). U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract: 1955* (76th ed., Washington, 1955), 9 (Table 4). Maps showing the boundaries of the territories at all periods are in Charles O. Paullin and John K. Wright, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Washington, 1932), Plates 61-67.

tions of domestic social policy — involving the exercise of "police powers," so-called — belong clearly to the sphere of action reserved to the states. In the territories, however, no state government, in a constitutional sense, exists. By whose authority, then, are local police powers to be exercised?

Before examining the possible answers, it will be well to take careful note of the practical importance of the question — one that seems, at first glance, to belong to the realm of metaphysical speculation. Under ordinary circumstances, a precise answer was clearly unnecessary. A territory was simply an area in transition from unsettled wilderness to complete statehood. Whatever government existed *de facto* within a territory was bound to wield a police power for the time being, simply because it was charged with maintaining order. A rough and ready practicality, untroubled by elaborate theories about political structure, sufficed for carrying on the everyday affairs of a territory and handling (or postponing) its relatively simple problems. Territorial status was a temporary one. In the end, statehood would operate as an act of oblivion, curing or obliterating any theoretical irregularities that might have belonged to the territorial period.

This was true in most circumstances, but not in all. Slavery created problems of precisely the kind to convert these abstract and apparently trivial questions of constitutional theory into practical and momentous issues of constitutional law. The police power was, among other things, the power to deal with slavery. It was through their police powers that the slaveholding states enacted slave codes, it was through theirs that the free states abolished slavery. Whether or not slavery expanded into the territories thus depended upon how (and by whom) the police power was exercised there.

In the nature of the case, moreover, a decision on slavery during the territorial period would have permanent, not temporary, effects. If the police power were employed at the outset to protect the property rights of slaveholders, then slavery was likely to become so entwined with the institutions of the locality as to be in practice ineradicable. On the other hand, if the police power were used in such a way as to discourage the bringing in of slaves, then the territory would almost certainly produce a free-state majority when the time came to write a permanent constitution and seek admission to the Union.

Both parties to the controversy understood perfectly these implications. Lincoln, in a speech at Peoria on October 16, 1854, presented the antislavery argument against vesting the power of decision in the first settlers:

> Another important objection to this application of the right of self-government, is that it enables the first FEW, to deprive the succeeding MANY, of a free exercise of the right of self-government. The first few may get slavery IN, and the subsequent many cannot easily get it OUT. How common is the remark now in the slave States — "If we were only clear of our slaves, how much better it would be for us." They are actually deprived of the privilege of governing themselves as they would, by the action of a very few, in the beginning.[65]

Proslavery spokesmen were equally opposed to allowing the settlers to decide. James S. Green of Missouri stated the reasons in a speech to the Senate in 1860. Unless slave property is protected in the territories from the beginning, he argued,

> nobody will go there except those who do not own slaves; and when they come to the determination of the question, there will not be an interest sufficient to justify the adoption of the law of holding slaves. The consequence, the inevitable consequence, will be — not another slave State, no expansion of the South, no outlet to the South; but cramped and confined within her present limits, she may prosper for a while, but she will ultimately languish for the want of the power of expansion.[66]

To opponents and defenders of slavery alike, it seemed clear that the first decisions made in the territories would be the determining ones. However significant in theory might be the sovereignty of the state when eventually admitted to the Union, in practice this power — plenary but deferred — might well prove meaningless so far as slavery was concerned. Long before a state attained full standing, its social system could have been irrevocably fixed by decisions already made. Control of the police power during the territorial stage was thus the crux of the entire issue.

The Wilmot Proviso

It was the Wilmot Proviso of 1846 that brought this issue to the forefront of American politics and thus began the fifteen-year

65. *Collected Works,* II: 268.
66. Jan. 11, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 77. In a speech

crisis that finally swept the nation into civil war. Under debate was an amendment to a two-million-dollar appropriation bill requested by President James K. Polk, for the purpose, as he said, of paying "for any concessions which may be made by Mexico" in a future peace treaty. The principal object, the President hardly needed to explain, was "the adjustment of a boundary between the two republics" — in plain language, territorial cessions by Mexico to the United States.[67] During debate in the House of Representatives, in the evening of August 8, 1846, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania moved the following amendment:

Provided, That, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.[68]

The House adopted the proviso almost immediately, by a vote of 83 to 64.[69] The Senate refused to accept it, then or later.[70] But the fat was in the fire.

to the Mississippi legislature on Nov. 16, 1858, Jefferson Davis likewise emphatically denied the right "of the first in the race of migration who reach a territory . . . to enact laws for the exclusion of other joint owners of the territory, who may . . . choose to take with them property recognized by the Constitution, but not acceptable to the first emigrants." Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson, Miss., 1923), III: 345. Writing long after the Civil War, Davis reiterated his objection to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as involving "a power in the Territorial Legislatures permanently to determine the fundamental, social, and political institutions of the Territory, and thereby virtually to prescribe those of the future State." *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,* I: 40.

67. Message of the President, Aug. 8, 1846. *Globe,* 29 Cong., 1 Sess., 1211.

68. *Globe,* 29 Cong., 1 Sess., 1217.

69. This vote was in committee of the whole. *Ibid.* In the House itself, the bill (with the Wilmot Proviso included) passed by a vote of 87 to 64. *Ibid.,* 1218 (Aug. 8, 1846).

70. Congress adjourned two days later (Aug. 10, 1846) with the Senate bogged down in debate on the measure. *Ibid.,* 1220-21. At the next session a new bill (increasing the appropriation to three million dollars) was introduced. The House of Representatives, in committee of the whole, amended the measure on Feb. 15, 1847, to include an even more sweeping version of the proviso: "*Provided, further,* That there shall be neither

What made the Wilmot Proviso controversial? The answer requires a careful discrimination among constitutional principles. The proviso was in complete accord with the *law* of the Constitution, as understood up to that time. In banning slavery, the proviso used language almost identical with that of the Northwest Ordinance of July 13, 1787, adopted by the Continental Congress while the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was still sitting.[71] After the adoption of the Constitution, Congress immediately re-enacted the ordinance[72] and thereafter included the same prohibition, in virtually the same language, in a series of five territorial acts, from 1800 to 1838,[73] and in the Missouri Compromise of 1820.[74] The

slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation, or in any other manner whatever, except for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. . . ." The proviso was moved by Hannibal Hamlin of Maine (later Vice-President under Lincoln) and adopted, in committee of the whole, by a vote of 110 to 89. When the committee rose, the House of Representatives itself adopted the Wilmot Proviso (as it continued to be called, regardless of its actual mover) by a vote of 115 to 106, and then passed the bill, 115 to 105. *Globe,* 29 Cong., 2 Sess., 424-25 (Feb. 15, 1847). The Senate rejected the Wilmot Proviso on March 1, 1847, by a vote of 21 to 31. *Ibid.,* 555.

The Senate bill, without the proviso, came before the House of Representatives on the last day of the session, March 3, 1847. An attempt to reinsert the Wilmot Proviso was finally defeated, 97 to 102, and the bill without it then passed the House, 115 to 81. *Ibid.,* 573.

71. "There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary Servitude in the said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the Party shall have been duly convicted. . . ." In "An Ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States North west of the river Ohio," July 13, 1787, Articles of Compact, Art. 6. *Territorial Papers,* II: 49.

72. Act of Aug. 7, 1789, chap. 8. *Stat. at L.,* I: 50. Also printed, from the original MS, in *Territorial Papers,* II: 203-4.

73. Acts creating governments for the territories of Indiana (1800), Michigan (1805), Illinois (1809), Wisconsin (1836), and Iowa (1838). These are listed, with citations, in the dissenting opinion of Justice Benjamin R. Curtis in the Dred Scott case, 19 Howard 393, at 618 (March 6, 1857). An analysis of the entire series of territorial acts is provided in Max Farrand, *The Legislation of Congress for the Government of the Organized Territories . . . , 1789-1895* (Newark, N.J., 1896). Texts of the basic acts are reprinted in Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions . . . of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America* (Washington, 1909), 7 vols.; hereafter cited as Thorpe, ed., *Constitutions.*

74. Act of March 6, 1820, chap. 22, sec. 8. *Stat. at L.,* III: 545, at 548. Reprinted in Thorpe, ed., *Constitutions,* IV: 2148.

power to act on the matter had not, prior to 1846, been seriously challenged.[75]

The principle that the Wilmot Proviso thrust aside was not a *law* of the Constitution, but a *custom* of the Constitution, which dated back to the First Congress. On December 22, 1789, North Carolina ceded its western lands to the Union, to be governed according to the principles of the already re-enacted Northwest Ordinance, "*Provided always* that no regulations made or to be made by Congress shall tend to emancipate Slaves."[76] Congress accepted the condition and set up a Southwest Territory (later the state of Tennessee), explicitly providing that the antislavery section of the earlier ordinance should not apply.[77] Thereafter, from 1798 to 1822, Congress organized various southern territories in like manner, such acts roughly balancing in number those in which it prohibited slavery.[78] Moreover, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 established the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude as a dividing line through the territories that had been acquired by the Louisiana Purchase and that remained in territorial status after the admission of Missouri to statehood. North of this line slavery was prohibited;

75. An exhaustive and invaluable treatise on the legal aspects of the territorial system is provided by Francis S. Philbrick in the 477-page introduction to his edition of *The Laws of Illinois Territory, 1809-1818 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXV, Springfield, 1950), hereafter cited simply as Philbrick. On the question of power to legislate for the territories, see especially pp. xcviii-clvii.

76. North Carolina, act of cession, Dec. 22, 1789, sec. 4. *Territorial Papers,* IV (Washington, 1936): 7. Repeated verbatim in the deed of cession, Feb. 25, 1790, and in the act of Congress accepting it, April 2, 1790. *Ibid.,* 12, 16.

77. "An Act for the government of the territory . . . south of the river Ohio," May 26, 1790, chap. 14. *Stat. at L.,* I: 123. *Territorial Papers,* IV: 18-19.

78. In the list that Justice Curtis included in his dissent to the Dred Scott decision, 19 Howard 393, at 618, five territorial acts of this character from 1798 to 1822 were cited. These neatly balance the five territorial acts from 1800 to 1838 in which slavery was prohibited. Such a balance, however, is somewhat artificial, for many acts permitted slavery simply by remaining silent. More significant is the fact that seven states had emerged from the territorial stage before the end of 1846 with slavery as an established institution, namely: Tennessee (admitted 1796), Louisiana (1812), Mississippi (1817), Alabama (1819), Missouri (1821), Arkansas (1836), and Florida (1845); whereas five had emerged as free states, namely: Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837), and Iowa (1846); and another was in close prospect: Wisconsin (admitted 1848).

south of it there was no restriction.[79] The established *custom* of the Constitution, before 1846, was thus to apportion the territories in an equitable fashion, so as to permit slaveholding in the southerly portions and prohibit it in the northerly.

The conservative position on the Constitution, throughout the entire crisis, was that the *law* and the *custom* of the Constitution (as here defined) were equally binding — in other words, that Congress had an indubitable *power* to prohibit or permit slavery in the territories, but that it had a corresponding *obligation* to consider the interests of the slaveholding states in legislating for the southern territories and the wishes of the free states in legislating for the northern.[80] In immediate reaction to the Wilmot Proviso, this position was asserted in several substitute amendments that would have extended the Missouri Compromise line across all territories subsequently acquired. Each of these proposals was promptly voted down in the House of Representatives.[81] It was this rejection of the

79. See n. 74 above.

80. One of the ablest statements of the conservative position is a little-known book by Sidney George Fisher, published anonymously in November, 1859, *The Law of the Territories* (Philadelphia, 1859); see especially pp. 78-83. The conservative position (as here defined) was the one taken by Justice Curtis in his dissent in the Dred Scott case, wherein he rejected three alternative constitutional views that had been presented at the bar of the court. These he succinctly summarized as follows: "One is, that though Congress can make a regulation prohibiting slavery in a Territory, they cannot make a regulation allowing it; another is, that it can neither be established nor prohibited by Congress, but that the people of a Territory, when organized by Congress, can establish or prohibit slavery; while the third is, that the Constitution itself secures to every citizen who holds slaves, under the laws of any State, the indefeasible right to carry them into any Territory, and there hold them as property." 19 Howard 393, at 620. Obviously these were the positions, respectively, of the Republicans, of the "territorial sovereignty" Democrats under Douglas, and of the extreme southern Democrats (whose senatorial spokesman was Jefferson Davis). The fourth position (that is, the conservative one, which Curtis by implication accepted) was presumably the position of the Constitutional Union Party in 1860, though its platform and the speeches of its candidates were frustratingly vague. It was clearly the position of Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, whose famous compromise resolutions, proposed in the Senate on Dec. 18, 1860, represented essentially a return to the constitutional understandings of the period prior to 1846, which he sought to put beyond question by embodying them in formal constitutional amendments. The crucial first article would have restored the Missouri Compromise line for all territory "now held, or hereafter acquired." *Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 114.

81. Immediately after the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso, on Aug.

traditional approach to the problem that led to an intensive re-examination of constitutional precedents and postulates by all concerned, and hence produced the great constitutional crisis of 1846-1860.

The Constitutional Status of Territories

The precedents went back to a period before there was a formal constitution. Indeed, a conflict over the western territories blocked, for almost four years, the ratification of the first written instrument of federal government, the Articles of Confederation, drafted in 1777. Certain states claimed sovereignty over extensive areas in the West; certain others possessed no such claims. The latter insisted that these great unsettled areas become the property of the Union, rather than of particular states, and be developed for the common benefit. The log jam was broken in 1780, when various states (commencing with New York) began to cede their western claims, and Congress adopted a resolution promising that these lands would "be settled and formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence, as the other states."[82] The smaller states were satisfied. On March 1, 1781, the last state gave its assent to the Articles of Confederation, and the United States began to live under its first written federal constitution.

The obvious — indeed, the necessary — assumption was that Congress would provide governments for the new territories. In doing so, it was morally bound to accord to actual settlers some degree of participation in territorial government and to advance them as rapidly as possible toward the fully self-governing stage that statehood would represent. Throughout the 1780's there were sharp

8, 1846, an amendment to substitute the Missouri Compromise line was voted down by the House of Representatives, sitting as committee of the whole, 54 to 89. *Globe,* 29 Cong., 1 Sess., 1217. When the proviso came up again, on Feb. 15, 1847, three distinct amendments to like effect (one of them offered by Stephen A. Douglas) were similarly voted down by the House, again in committee of the whole. The votes were 82 to 109 and 81 to 104; the third amendment was rejected without a division. *Globe,* 29 Cong., 2 Sess., 424-25.

82. Resolution of Oct. 10, 1780. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-1937), XVIII: 915.

conflicts of opinion about the proper balance to be struck between federal authority and local autonomy in the territories. But there was not the slightest hint that the individual states should play a separate and independent role — apart from the constituted organs of the Union — in governing the territories they had already ceded, thereby surrendering (in the words of the Virginia deed of cession) "all right, title and claim as well of soil as of jurisdiction."[83]

The real territorial question of the early republic was the degree of local self-government to be granted the inhabitants of a territory. On one side was Thomas Jefferson, who drafted the first land ordinance in 1784, and who proposed to give the settlers, from the very beginning, almost complete control over their own affairs. On the other side were the more conservative groups who shaped the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. This enactment specified a virtually colonial type of government, by federally appointed authorities, during the first stage of territorial existence; during the second stage it permitted the inhabitants some direct participation in territorial government; but it withheld full powers of self-government until the time for statehood arrived. The latter pattern prevailed, for the Ordinance of 1787 superseded the Ordinance of 1784 and became the prototype of all later territorial acts.[84]

Divergent as were these two philosophies of territorial government, they reached an identical conclusion so far as slavery was concerned. Jefferson's original draft of 1784 included a prohibition of slavery in *all* the western territories.[85] The Ordinance of 1787 applied a similar prohibition to the particular area with which it dealt,

83. March 1, 1784. *Territorial Papers,* II: 9. The New York cession, March 1, 1781, used the words: "All the Right, Title, Interest, Jurisdiction and Claim." *Ibid.,* 5.

84. See the elaborate comparison of the two plans of territorial government by Philbrick, ccl-ccclxxxvi.

85. "That after the year 1800 of the Christian aera, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty." Report to Congress of the committee to prepare a plan for the temporary government of the western territory, March 1, 1784 (original in Jefferson's handwriting). Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* VI (Princeton, N.J., 1952): 604. The clause appeared in the revised report, March 22, 1784 (also in Jefferson's hand). *Ibid.,* 608. As discussed in n. 87 below, it was rejected by Congress and does not appear in the ordinance as enacted on April 23, 1784. *Ibid.,* 613-15.

"the territory of the United States North west of the river Ohio."[86] Jefferson's prohibitory clause was eliminated from the Ordinance of 1784 before enactment by Congress,[87] but its subsequent inclusion in the Ordinance of 1787 showed that the dropping of the provision did not imply a lack of power to adopt it.

There was, it is true, a subtly different philosophical basis for the two abolitionary clauses. In the Northwest Ordinance, Congress was simply legislating for the territories. This legislative power might, without question, be exercised in an opposite way, to permit slavery, and it was so exercised in 1790 when Congress created the Southwest Territory.[88] In the Jeffersonian scheme, on the other hand, the prohibition of slavery did not represent an exercise of federal legislative power, for Jefferson assigned virtually all legislative power to the inhabitants of the territories themselves. Instead, the prohibition of slavery in the territories was, in Jefferson's mind, simply a vindication of the principle of natural and unalienable rights.[89] Slavery denied the fundamental right to liberty. To eliminate this violation of natural rights in the older states would require time, but there was no reason why slavery should not be banned

86. See n. 71 above.

87. The matter came to a vote on April 19, 1784. The motion was put in such a way than an affirmative majority was needed to retain Jefferson's prohibition of slavery. The motion was to strike out the section, but the question was put as follows: "Shall the words moved to be struck out stand?" Six states voted in the affirmative, against only three in the negative, but the rules of Congress required an affirmative vote of seven states, and the provision was lost. Actually the seven states from Pennsylvania northward were unanimously in favor, fourteen of their delegates in all voting aye. One of these states (New Jersey), however, was represented by only a single delegate, insufficient for a quorum; hence the state could not be counted. Among the southern states, only two (Maryland and South Carolina) were unanimously against the provision. In North Carolina the delegation was evenly divided; hence the vote of the state could not affect the decision. Within the Virginia delegation, too, there was division, and, by a bitter irony, Jefferson's affirmative vote was overridden by the negative votes of his two colleagues. Delaware and Georgia were absent. Altogether, only seven individual delegates were opposed to the provision, against sixteen in favor, two of the latter from southern states. *Journals of the Continental Congress,* XXVI: 247. Few issues so momentous have ever been decided by so unsatisfactory a ballot.

88. See n. 77 above.

89. Cf. the exclamations in his *Notes on Virginia,* written at this very time: "With what execrations should the statesman be loaded, who [permits] one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other. . . . And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed

from the beginning in new territories that were to grow up "in republican forms."[90] The prohibition of slavery was to be part of what Jefferson labeled a "Charter of Compact" — in effect a primordial bill of rights, and, as such, "fundamental" and "unalterable."[91] Whether the abolition of slavery be regarded as a legislative measure or as a constitutional protection of fundamental rights, the fact was that by 1787 it had entered clearly into the system of law being evolved for the territories.

In terms of the American concept of constitutional law — which grants priority to the language of the written Constitution over any mere tradition of constitutional action — the basic question was whether the Constitution of 1787 validated the measures that had already been taken respecting the territories. If not — and especially if the Constitution could be construed as forbidding these measures — then the policy (no matter of how long standing) could be reversed on constitutional grounds. This was precisely the result at which the defenders of slavery aimed in the constitutional doctrine they developed after 1846. They built up, from state-sovereignty premises, a theory of the Constitution that denied the legality of every measure prohibiting slavery in the territories that had ever been enacted from the time the Union was perfected in 1787-1788.

They were aided in doing so by the undeniable vagueness and

their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God?" The way, he hoped, was "preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation." Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (William Peden, ed., Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955), 162-63. He still hoped that Virginia would pass legislation he had earlier favored, which would "emancipate all slaves born after passing the act." *Ibid.*, 137; see also Boyd, ed., *Jefferson Papers,* II: 472n.

90. Phrases promising "a Republican Form of Government" echoed through all the documents of the founding period. See, for example, the resolution of Congress of Oct. 10, 1780, on the cession of western lands (cited in n. 82 above); Jefferson's draft ordinance of 1784 (from which the phrase in the text is quoted); and the Constitution itself, Art. IV, sec. 4. Such guarantees furnished one basis for the view that the federal government should exercise a general superintendence over the institutions that might develop in the territories — including the institution of slavery. Thus Timothy Fuller of Massachusetts declared in the House of Representatives on Feb. 15, 1819, that "the existence of slavery in any State is so far a departure from republican principles." *Annals,* 15 Cong., 2 Sess., 1180.

91. Boyd, ed., *Jefferson Papers,* VI: 605. On the essential unreality of the supposed "compact," see Philbrick, clxxix, *et seq.*

ambiguity of the single clause of the written Constitution that dealt with territorial matters:

> The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States. . . .[92]

Though legislative power can be described as the power to make rules and regulations,[93] nevertheless the language of this clause was obviously weaker than that employed in giving Congress the power "to exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever" over the District of Columbia and over such federal sites as forts and dockyards.[94] Moreover, by referring to "Territory or *other Property,*" and by emphasizing the power "to *dispose of*" both, the clause might be interpreted as referring to real-estate transactions rather than to territorial government.

By making the most of these ambiguities, proslavery theorists could argue either that this particular clause did not apply to the situation at all or that it delegated to Congress such limited authority over the territories that no legislative interference with slavery was permissible there. A different kind of power — a non-legislative power, deriving from a different constitutional source — could then be assigned to Congress. And this power, being a creation of pure constitutional theorizing, could be so defined that it would be capable of protecting slavery in the territories without, at the same time, subjecting it to the hazard of hostile legislation.

If full legislative power over the territories had not been vested in Congress by the Constitution, then surely the power must belong to the inhabitants themselves. This had been the Jeffersonian alternative. And it was the alternative that Stephen A. Douglas supported with vigor and consistency under the name of territorial or popular sovereignty. To most supporters of slavery it seemed, for a decade after 1846, the best defense against the hated Wilmot Proviso. But as events in Kansas gradually pointed, in the later 1850's, toward an ultimate free-state victory there, proslavery forces

92. Constitution, Art. IV, sec. 3, clause 2.

93. Certain of the most important powers of Congress were delegated to it in this language, including the power "to regulate Commerce." Constitution, Art. I, sec. 8, clause 3; see also clauses 4, 5, 11, 14. Philbrick discusses the question at length, cv-cxxx.

94. Art. I, sec. 8, clause 17.

turned venomously upon the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and repudiated his doctrine and all his works. The theory of state sovereignty came to full fruition in the brief period that followed. And it showed its imperious quality by the peremptory way in which its supporters rejected every vestige of the idea that the people of a territory were sovereign or self-governing. Typical was a speech in the House of Representatives in 1859 by Otho R. Singleton of Mississippi:

> Sovereignty, as I understand it, and as it is defined by lexicographers, is the highest power — the supreme power in a State; and, if this definition be correct, (and I apprehend nobody will controvert it,) when Mr. DOUGLAS and his followers undertake to put the Territorial Legislature upon the same footing with a State Legislature, in my judgment they are guilty of a most egregious blunder. Now, let me ask what sovereignty is there — call it squatter sovereignty, popular sovereignty, or whatever else you please — belonging to the people of a Territory? Can they organize a territorial government for themselves? . . . . Can they elect their own officers without the special permission of the Congress of the United States? Every act that is passed by the Territorial Legislature is subject to the revision of Congress, and liable to be annulled by that body, and there is not a single act a Territorial Legislature can perform showing it to be sovereign.
>
> But the gentlemen claim that the Legislature of a Territory has the same powers as the Legislature of a State. Why, sir, never was a more erroneous proposition asserted. A State Legislature may perform a thousand acts of sovereignty, its power being controlled by no superior. . . . The people of a State select their own officers, establish their own judicial tribunals, alter or abolish their State government at will. And when gentlemen undertake to put a State and Territory upon the same footing in respect to sovereignty, they involve themselves in difficulties which they cannot meet successfully.[95]

The doctrine of state sovereignty was as hostile to local self-determination in the territories as to the exercise of federal legislative power there. But what other alternative could there be? It was in answering this question that the theorists of state sovereignty revealed their extraordinary ingenuity. And the foundation of their argument was the extra-jurisdictional (or extraterritorial) principle that has already shown itself to be the most significant corollary of state sovereignty.

95. Dec. 19, 1859. *Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 52.

In legal terms, as we have seen, the question at issue was the source of the police power in the territories — the power that might determine, among other things, the existence or nonexistence of slavery. The state-sovereignty argument began by pointing out that the exercise of a police power is the prerogative of a sovereign. The people of a territory had not attained sovereignty, and the federal government had not received, by delegation, those attributes of sovereignty that would enable it to wield a power of local police. The idea that the federal government might exercise such powers in the territories — by default as it were — was rejected as untenable. The federal government is a government of delegated powers, and local police powers are precisely the ones not delegated to it, but "reserved" by the Tenth Amendment. And they are reserved to the full-fledged sovereign states of the Union, and to them alone.

One finds it hard to imagine how the several states could exercise any power of police in territories beyond their boundaries and outside their jurisdictions. And if they attempted to do so, each projecting its sovereignty into the same area, what possible result could there be but conflict, commotion, and chaos? The answer of state-sovereignty theorists was to assign to the federal government a peculiar, extraconstitutional role in the territories. It was to act there not as the government of the *United* States, but as the agent of the united *States*.

This ingenious dualism solved, with the elegance of Euclid, the constitutional problem that confronted the defenders of slavery. In traditional federal matters, the government of the United States was a *government,* with a legislature capable of determining federal policy, an executive capable of enforcing it, and a judiciary sworn to uphold federal statutes as part of the supreme law of the land. In territorial matters, on the other hand, the federal government was not to be deemed a government at all, but a *trustee*. It was a trustee for the sovereign states, responsible to them severally, charged with giving extraterritorial effect to their laws, and denied any deliberative or discretionary power of its own. It had duties to perform and it possessed the power to perform them. But the power to act did not imply the power to decide. The proslavery constitutional theory succeeded in preserving a centralized authority powerful enough to enforce the rights of slaveowners outside the jurisdictions of the slaveholding states. At the same time, it denied

to this central authority any power to make policy with respect to slavery in any place or in any manner.

The Real Significance of State Sovereignty

It is time to examine the various — and extraordinary — features of this fully developed doctrine of state sovereignty. The first point to be noted is that the theory did *not* propose a lessening of federal authority in the territories. Federal powers were to be kept in being — even enhanced — in order to protect the exposed flank of slavery. But these powers were so defined as to be capable of employment in only one way. President Franklin Pierce stated the ultimate and desired conclusion in a message to Congress in 1855. "The General Government," he said, "was forbidden to touch this matter [slavery] in the sense of attack or offense" but was obliged to act upon it "in the sense of defense against either invasion or domestic violence."[96] Senator John M. Berrien of Georgia was even more explicit. "Congress," he asserted, "may legislate upon this subject in the Territories, *affirmatively*," that is to say, "to facilitate the exercise of a constitutional right" to own slaves, but it had no power to legislate in such a way as "to create obstructions to the enjoyment" of this right.[97] Speaking for the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney reiterated the view: "The Government of the United States had no right to interfere for any other purpose but that of protecting the rights of the owner."[98]

These conclusions — which found expression in all three branches of the federal government — were the product of several subtle but exceedingly important transformations in the realm of constitutional theory.

In the first place, the traditional criterion of constitutionality had

96. Third annual message, Dec. 31, 1855. James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1897), V: 343.

97. Quoted by Thomas Hardeman, Jr. (Ga.), H.R., April 12, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 223. Hardeman himself went on to offer a new and revealing distinction, quite different from the orthodox distinction between powers granted to the federal government and powers reserved to the states. Instead, Hardeman spoke of "the distinction between their [i.e., Congress's] powers of protection — for it was for that our Government was created — and those negative powers which belong not to Congress." *Ibid.*

98. Dred Scott v. Sandford, 19 Howard 393, at 426 (March 6, 1857).

been replaced by another. The federal government being a government of delegated powers, the accepted test applied to any federal measure had always been whether or not the power employed was delegated by the Constitution to the federal government. In place of this, a new criterion of constitutionality was insisted upon — a criterion of *purpose*. If a power were used in such a way as to weaken slavery, then it was without constitutional justification, regardless of whether the power, considered as such, lay within the scope of delegated powers. In a speech to the Senate in 1856, Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama, brusquely swept aside as irrelevant, so far as slavery was concerned, the distinction between action that intruded upon the reserved powers of the states and action that fell within the recognized sphere of federal competence. Outright abolitionism, he said, was "less odious and dangerous" than the policy of "those who concede that slavery in the States is beyond the reach of Congress under the Constitution . . . but yet avow their intention and their power to assail it in the Territories, this District [of Columbia], and wherever the national flag floats." Their ultimate goal, he argued, was to "overthrow slavery in the States." The goal itself was unconstitutional, regardless of the means employed. The fact that opponents of slavery approached this goal by a "circuitous" path rendered their conduct not scrupulously constitutional but "insidious and dastardly." "An army with banners," Clement Clay exclaimed, "is preferable to a Trojan horse."[99]

This theory rendered unconstitutional any use of federal power anywhere or at any time in a fashion inimical to slavery. Nevertheless, the theory was still a negative one. Something more was needed: a mandate from the Constitution itself requiring the positive use of federal power to safeguard slavery in the territories. The second great transformation of constitutional theory looked to this particular end. Proslavery theorists undertook to discover in the Constitution itself such a clear guarantee of the rights of slaveowners that Congress and the President would be obliged, whatever their inclinations, to protect the institution of slavery in the territories, without acquiring thereby any concomitant power to debate or decide questions of policy relating to it.

The starting point of this theory was the fact that the Constitu-

99. April 21, 1856. *Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 487-88.

tion did recognize the existence of slavery. Furthermore, it gave extraterritorial effect to the laws of the slaveholding states in the matter of fugitive slaves. Antislavery leaders, of course, conceded all this, but they considered slavery a tolerated evil, and they regarded the specific provisions of the Constitution as setting the uttermost limits of such toleration. Beyond these limits, they insisted, every constitutional power of the federal government might legitimately be directed against slavery, to limit, weaken, and eventually destroy it. The question of whether federal power should be used in this way was a question of policy, not of constitutional law — a question to be decided by the recognized deliberative organs of the federal government.

Proslavery constitutionalists took a diametrically opposite view. The clauses of the Constitution that recognized slavery were to be construed not narrowly but broadly — not as limits on the protection that slavery might enjoy but as tokens of the full protection that the Constitution implicitly promised. By recognizing slavery, moreover, the Constitution necessarily recognized the laws of the slaveholding states and made their principles the controlling ones in every question that affected slavery. No power to legislate about slavery had, after all, been delegated to Congress. But slavery was an institution that must be defined and provided for by law. There was only one place where such law could be found or could be made — in the sovereign states that upheld and protected slavery. Whenever an issue involving slavery arose in the domain of federal responsibility, therefore, the laws of the slaveholding states must take on extra-jurisdictional force, filling the void created by the constitutional incapacity of Congress to legislate on the subject. On all matters affecting slavery, in other words, the slaveholding states, as sovereigns, were to make policy not for themselves alone, but for the country as a whole, except within the boundaries of such sovereign states as had chosen to abolish the institution.[100]

100. Even there, of course, the laws of the slaveholding states were to operate extraterritorially upon fugitive slaves. Extraterritoriality, one should observe, was to work in one direction only. The freedom that a slave might have gained by being taken into a free state vanished if he was taken back into a slave state. In his concurring opinion in the Dred Scott case, Justice Nelson emphatically rejected the argument "that as Dred Scott was free while residing in the State of Illinois, by the laws of that State, on his return to the State of Missouri he carried with him the personal qualities of freedom, and that the same effect must be given to his status there

Senator Berrien of Georgia stated the matter succinctly: "Slavery exists in the State where the owner dwells; it exists out of the State where the owner dwells. Once existing, it exists everywhere, until it comes within limits of a sovereignty which inhibits it."[101] The theory of state sovereignty, in other words, made slavery a national institution. Senator James S. Green of Missouri used this very term when he asserted "that the prohibition of slavery in the United States is local, and that the right to hold slave property wherever there is no prohibition is national."[102]

The doctrine of state sovereignty, in the last analysis, was a nationalistic doctrine, not a localistic one. Despite appearances, its real tendency was toward consolidation, not decentralization. By exalting sovereignty, it destroyed the philosophical foundation for a genuinely pluralistic society, in which diversity would be cherished. There was one peculiarity: indivisible sovereignty was ascribed to the several states rather than to the nation. As a consequence, the doctrine exhibited to the world two seemingly contradictory faces. Within their borders, the slaveholding states were invoking a sov-

as in the former State." On the contrary, he said, "No State . . . can enact laws to operate beyond its own dominions. . . . Such laws can have no inherent authority extra-territorially. . . . Now, it follows from these principles, that whatever force or effect the laws of one State or nation may have in the territories of another, must depend solely upon the laws and municipal regulations of the latter." Dred Scott v. Sandford, 19 Howard 393, at 462, 460 (March 6, 1857); cited hereafter simply as Dred Scott case (with page reference). Furthermore, Nelson went on to treat federal statutes on the same basis, despite the fact that they are, by constitutional definition, part of "the supreme Law of the Land," binding "the Judges in every State . . . , any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." Art. VI, clause 2. Oblivious to the difference between a federal law operating within the jurisdiction of a member state and a state law operating within the jurisdiction of a fellow state, he rejected the idea that the federally enacted Missouri Compromise (assuming it to be valid) "possessed some superior virtue and effect, extra-territorially, and within the State of Missouri, beyond that of the laws of Illinois, or those of Ohio." Dred Scott case, 463. Nelson did not rule on the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise; hence he did not involve himself in the flagrant one-sidedness of a majority of his brethren, who accepted his reasoning and then combined it with their own, which concluded that the laws of a slaveholding state followed the slaveowner and protected his property whenever he went out from his own state into the territories that were under federal jurisdiction.

101. Quoted by Thomas Hardeman, Jr. (Ga.), H.R., April 12, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 223.

102. Senate, Jan. 11, 1860. *Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 78.

ereign's immunity from all external control. Beyond their borders, however, they were demanding — as sovereigns — the strictest respect for whatever rights they chose to place beneath the protective mantle of their sovereignty.

Such a view of the Constitution wiped out every policy-making function of the federal government. Its powers were converted from legislative to ministerial ones. Congress was to provide ways and means, it was not to deliberate upon ends. The President was not to shape policy but simply to execute the laws. Federal coercive authority, nevertheless, would be kept in being, for the extra-territorial claims of the slaveholding states would collapse without it. But the only branch of the federal government whose powers were to be exalted was the judiciary. The courts were obliged to take their cue directly from the Constitution. They were free to disregard the directives of possible antislavery majorities in the other branches. They could thus be expected to enforce the sweeping mandate that proslavery leaders found in the Constitution — a mandate to safeguard, under all circumstances, the constitutionally recognized institution of slavery.

This reliance upon the judiciary — indeed, this almost exclusive reliance — was inevitable, and gave to proslavery constitutional theory its highly legalistic tone. Of the three branches of the federal government, the legislative was least to be trusted. Antislavery majorities could already be mustered in the House of Representatives, and sooner or later would be in the Senate. Therefore no discretionary power over slavery could safely be left in the hands of Congress; its every act must be predetermined, so far as aim or purpose was concerned, by the Constitution and by judicial decision. For the moment, the situation in the executive branch was more favorable. Throughout the period of controversy — especially during the administrations of Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan (1845-1849 and 1853-1861) — the proslavery faction were generally successful in committing the President to the policies they demanded. Nevertheless, this control was jeopardized at every election — indeed, the loss of the executive branch to the Republicans in 1860 was obviously a major reason for secession. Executive discretion ultimately was no more to be tolerated than legislative. Only the federal judiciary could be trusted to defend slavery in an active way. The idea that the Supreme Court could not make — and was

not, in fact, making — national policy about slavery was a transparent fiction. But it was a useful fiction, from the southern point of view, for it meant that the court was under no obligation to reflect the views of popular majorities. Policy would be made *for* the nation, but not *by* the nation. Power would be neatly divorced from accountability, action from deliberation.

The Dred Scott Decision

This reliance upon the judiciary paid off in the most important of all the decisions on slavery — that in the case of Dred Scott, decided on March 6, 1857. The ultimate doctrine of state sovereignty, with all its extra-jurisdictional corollaries fully developed and applied, received its most authoritative formulation at the hands of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who wrote the opinion of the court in the case. Space does not permit an examination of the many points of this complex and fateful decision. But the heart of Taney's opinion, from the constitutional point of view, was his delineation of the nature of the Union and the conclusions he drew therefrom respecting the power of Congress in the territories and particularly its power over slavery.

The case involved a slave, Dred Scott, who had been taken by his master for an extended sojourn or residence in areas where slavery was forbidden by statute — for two years in the free state of Illinois and for two in that portion of the old Louisiana Purchase which lay north of 36° 30′, and in which slavery had been prohibited by the federally enacted Missouri Compromise of 1820. Having been brought back to the slaveholding state of Missouri, Dred Scott was suing for his freedom in the federal courts. His suit was denied on several grounds. What concerns us here is the pronouncement that Congress lacked constitutional authority to prohibit slavery in the territories, as it had attempted to do in the Missouri Compromise. Each of the nine justices filed a separate opinion. Seven concurred in the final result: that Dred Scott was still a slave. Only six held that the Missouri Compromise was invalid. And only five accepted Taney's reasoning that the measure was actually unconstitutional. The five, nevertheless, constituted a majority of the entire court; hence the constitutional theory about to be discussed became authoritative.[103]

103. Dred Scott case, 393. In the opinion of the court, Chief Justice

Turning to the written Constitution, Taney could find in it no delegation to the federal government of powers of local government, even over areas that formed no part of any existing state. He denied that such powers were conferred by the clause authorizing Congress to "make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States." Instead of arguing (as most defenders of state sovereignty had done) that the words were inadequate to convey the powers in question, Taney took the curious position that the clause applied only to territory already in the possession of the United States at the time the Constitution was adopted.[104] The effect (and obviously the intent) of this interpretation was to deny the applicability to the territories

Taney (Md.) denied the constitutionality of federal legislation prohibiting slavery in the territories (our present concern) in a lengthy discussion, 431-52. The two dissenting justices, John McLean (Ohio) and Benjamin R. Curtis (Mass.) controverted his views on this point, 538-50 and 604-33, respectively. Of the six justices who agreed with Taney that Dred Scott was still a slave, one, James M. Wayne (Ga.) gave his "unqualified assent" to all Taney's arguments, 454-56. Another, Robert C. Grier (Pa.) concurred specifically with Taney's reasoning on the unconstitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, 469. Two others, Peter V. Daniel (Va.) and John A. Campbell (Ala.) argued this particular point afresh, 487-92 and 500-517, respectively. Accordingly, five of the nine justices subscribed to the doctrines discussed in the text above. One other justice, John Catron (Tenn.), believed the Missouri Compromise invalid rather than unconstitutional, because incompatible with the treaty that ceded Louisiana, and he took emphatic exception to certain of Taney's assertions denying congressional power over the territories, 519-29. The remaining justice, Samuel Nelson (N.Y.), held Dred Scott to be a slave for reasons that did not call the Missouri Compromise in question, 457-69.

Aside from certain technical questions, two other major points were ruled on by the court. (i) Nelson, in an opinion originally prepared to serve as that of the court, rested the case on the principle that it was for the courts of Missouri to decide Dred Scott's status after his return to that state, and hence to determine the effect to be given to his residence on free soil. The precedent for this was the decision in Strader v. Graham, 10 Howard 82 (1850). Seven of the nine members of the court were in agreement on this point. (ii) Taney held that a Negro could not, under any circumstances, be a citizen of the United States and hence that Dred Scott could not sue in the federal courts even if he were free. Only Wayne and Daniel agreed. McLean and Curtis dissented. On this point — profound in its implications — the vote was therefore three to two.

The literature on the Dred Scott case is too enormous for discussion here. Mention should be made, however, of Vincent C. Hopkins, *Dred Scott's Case* (New York, 1951).

104. Dred Scott case, 432.

generally of the antislavery precedent set in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

Having rejected as a basis for his argument the one clause in the Constitution that made any reference to territory, Taney furnished himself with the kind of provision he needed by a wholesale discovery of implied powers, reminiscent of the most spacious opinions of John Marshall. The United States had, of course, acquired vast territories without benefit of an explicit grant of power to do so. Since Jefferson himself had swallowed his constitutional scruples in the matter when he consummated the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, no one thereafter was bothered by such scruples.[105] Nevertheless, the possessions so acquired had presumably been sold, as well as governed, by virtue of the clause that spoke of "Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory." Not so, said Taney. The clause in question could not be stretched to include possessions acquired after 1787. Accordingly, Congress had been selling the public land without any written authority from the Constitution. Its power to sell, as well as its power to govern, was inferred from its power to acquire, and this in turn was inferred from the fact that the United States was an independent nation, and, like other nations, an acquisitive one.[106] The Dred Scott decision was a masterpiece of broad construction before Taney changed his course and made it also a masterpiece of strict construction.

The power to govern the territories being an implied power, and not a power derived from the written clause respecting territory, Taney was free to define the power in any way he saw fit. And he saw fit to define it in terms of the dualism we have already examined. Until a territory is ready for statehood, Taney asserted, "it is undoubtedly necessary that some Government should be estab-

105. See Andrew C. McLaughlin, *A Constitutional History of the United States* (New York, 1935), 294-98.

106. In the Insular Cases following the Spanish-American War, the power to govern, implied from the implied power to acquire, became the basis for a ruling that (in the popular phrase of the time) the Constitution does not follow the flag. "We are also of opinion that the power to acquire territory by treaty implies, not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants, and what their status shall be in what Chief Justice Marshall termed the 'American empire.'" In other words, "the Constitution is applicable to territories acquired by purchase or conquest only when and so far as Congress shall so direct." Downes v. Bidwell, 182 U.S. 244, at 279 (May 27, 1901).

lished, in order to organize society, and to protect the inhabitants in their persons and property." This statement was implicitly restrictive, describing as it did a government with the barest minimum of functions. In establishing this minimal government, moreover, Congress was not acting in its normal capacity as the federal legislature. It was acting simply as agent of the several states, charged with preserving their interests. Taney expressed the idea thus:

As the people of the United States could act in this matter only through the Government which represented them, . . . it was not only within the scope of its powers, but it was its duty to pass such laws and establish such a Government as would enable those by whose authority they acted to reap the advantages anticipated from its acquisition.[107]

This was the concept of trusteeship. The term itself had already appeared in another crucial passage:

Whatever it [the general government] acquires, it acquires for the benefit of the people of the several States who created it. It is their trustee acting for them, and charged with the duty of promoting the interests of the whole people of the Union.

The territory, he reiterated, "was acquired by the General Government, as the representative and trustee of the people of the United States, and it must therefore be held in that character for their common and equal benefit."[108]

This distinction between legislative power and trusteeship was vital to Taney's argument. If Congress were authorized to legislate (in the full sense) for a territory, then it would stand in the same relation to the people of the territory as a state legislature stands in relation to the people of the state.[109] It could make policy with respect to the domestic and local institutions of the area. It would

107. Dred Scott case, 448.

108. *Ibid.* See also Daniel's concurring opinion: "Congress was made simply the agent or *trustee* for the United States, and could not, without a breach of trust and a fraud, appropriate the subject of the trust to any other beneficiary . . . than . . . the people of the United States, upon equal grounds, legal or equitable" (italics in the original). *Ibid.,* 489.

109. Marshall, indeed, had already held that in legislating for the territories, "Congress exercises the combined powers of the general, and of a state government." American Insurance Co. v. Canter, 1 Peters 511, at 546 (1828). Taney distinguished the case. Dred Scott, 444. Marshall's position is unquestionably that of present-day constitutional law. "In the territories, Congress has the entire dominion and sovereignty, national and local, and has full legislative power over all subjects upon which a State legislature might act." Corwin, ed., *Constitution . . . Analysis,* 703.

be empowered, as a state legislature was empowered, to decide upon the existence or nonexistence of slavery in the territory. On the other hand, if Congress were acting simply as trustee for the people of the several states, then it would enjoy no such freedom of decision on matters of policy. It could, of course, perform within the territories the ordinary federal functions that it performed within the states. Beyond this, however, its powers and duties in the territories were those of a temporary caretaker only. The normal legislative power bestowed upon Congress extended only to purely federal matters. No powers of local government — no police powers — were included. Such powers as might be indispensably necessary for the maintenance of order would have to be implied. But these had neither the character nor the scope of the constitutionally delegated powers of Congress. The implied power to provide government for a territory was drastically and peremptorily restricted by the concept of trusteeship.

From this premise, Taney's specific conclusions easily followed. In devising the mere machinery of government, Congress was relatively free to use its judgment. In legislating on substantive matters, however, it was permitted no discretion and no power of decision of its own. "The power of Congress over the person or property of a citizen can never be a mere discretionary power under our Constitution and form of Government."[110] Therefore "citizens of the United States who migrate to a Territory belonging to the people of the United States, cannot be ruled as mere colonists, dependent upon the will of the General Government, and to be governed by any laws it may think proper to impose."[111]

The federal government, admittedly, was duty-bound to preserve order and protect property. But it was obliged to do so, Taney insisted, in such a way as not to infringe upon any property right enjoyed by an American citizen by virtue of the laws of his own state. Ordinary civil and criminal laws, if common to all the states of the Union, might presumably be enacted by Congress for the territories. But laws that infringed upon a property right recognized by any state would be *ultra vires*. The holding of slaves was obviously such a state-protected property right. No distinction between slave property and other property was authorized by the

110. Dred Scott case, 449.
111. Dred Scott case, 447.

Constitution, Taney continued, and none could be made by Congress.[112] Accordingly, a federal statute abolishing slavery in a territory was, under any and every circumstance, unconstitutional. The Chief Justice drove the point home by citing — for almost the first time in constitutional adjudication, though not for the first time in the debates over slavery[113] — the Fifth Amendment (and especially its "due process" clause) in defense of vested property rights. "An act of Congress," he asserted, "which deprives a citizen of the United States of his liberty or property, merely because he came himself or brought his property into a particular Territory of the United States, and who had committed no offence against the laws, could hardly be dignified with the name of due process of law."[114]

Proslavery Demands in 1860

Upheld in their constitutional views by the Dred Scott decision of 1857, defenders of slavery worked out with logical com-

112. "If the Constitution recognises the right of property of the master in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen, no tribunal, acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction." Dred Scott case, 451. In his concurring opinion, however, Daniel insisted that the Constitution did make a distinction, placing property in slaves *above* other property. "The only private property which the Constitution has *specifically recognised,* and has imposed it as a direct obligation both on the States and the Federal Government to protect and *enforce,* is the property of the master in his slave; no other right of property is placed by the Constitution upon the same high ground, nor shielded by a similar guaranty." *Ibid.,* 490.

113. It was only a year earlier that the modern concept of "substantive due process" received clear formulation in a New York case, Wynehamer v. People, 13 N.Y. 378 (1856), involving a liquor law. The decision is characterized as "epoch-making" by Rodney L. Mott, *Due Process of Law* (Indianapolis, 1926), 317-18. Taney, who cited no precedents, is often assumed to have had the Wynehamer case in mind, and his application of the Fifth Amendment to vested property rights in slaves is usually regarded as a striking innovation. As early as 1832, however, in the debates that occurred in the Virginia General Assembly over a proposal for gradual emancipation, James H. Gholson argued that any measure taking slaves from their masters would violate property rights protected both by the Virginia Constitution and by the Fifth Amendment of the federal Constitution. He seems, it is true, to have emphasized the clause reading "nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation," rather than the due process clause. See Theodore M. Whitfield, *Slavery Agitation in Virginia, 1829-1832* (Baltimore, 1930), 77.

114. Dred Scott case, 450.

pleteness the program which they insisted the federal government must carry out. The final formulation was in a set of resolutions that Jefferson Davis introduced in the Senate on February 2, 1860, and that he pushed through to adoption on May 24 and 25. The resolutions began by reciting the orthodox postulate of state sovereignty: "that in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the States adopting the same acted severally as free and independent sovereignties."[115] But the document mounted quickly to a climax in the fourth resolution, which demanded that the powers of the central government be exerted to any extent necessary to safeguard slavery throughout all the territories. In Davis's original draft, the section read as follows:

Resolved, That neither Congress nor a territorial legislature, whether by direct legislation or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly nature, possess the power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common territories, but it is the duty of the federal government there to afford, for that as for other species of property, the needful protection; and if experience should at any time prove that the judiciary does not possess power to insure adequate protection, it will then become the duty of Congress to supply such deficiency.[116]

Davis's resolutions, an election-year manifesto, were adopted in May, 1860. Six months later the election returns were in. The victory of Lincoln and the Republican Party destroyed every hope of achieving the proslavery program for the territories that Jefferson Davis had laid down in the spring. Even without control of Congress, the incoming Republican President would wield powers capable of blocking any measure for protecting slavery in the territories. His veto could strike down a federal slave code, should

115. Senate, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., *Journal,* 112 (Feb. 2, 1860).

116. *Ibid.,* 113. On March 1, 1860, Davis substituted a revised, but by no means weakened, text, which divided this resolution into two. *Ibid.,* 203. The revised resolutions were adopted by the Senate on May 24-25, 1860. *Ibid.,* 507-10, 513-18. Horace Greeley labeled them the "Democratic Platform, Adopted by the United States Senate." Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland, eds., *A Political Text-Book for 1860* (New York, 1860), 194-97. The views, of course, were not those of the Democratic Party as a whole, but of its southern faction. When the latter nominated John C. Breckinridge for the presidency on June 28, 1860, the first two planks of its platform simply paraphrased Davis's crucial resolution, avoiding the contentious word "slave." Porter and Johnson, *National Party Platforms,* 31.

Congress seek to enact one, and his power to appoint and remove territorial governors (each armed with a veto power) could forestall similar action by territorial legislatures. If Stephen A. Douglas was right when he said that slavery could not exist in a territory without positive legislation in its favor,[117] then slavery in the territories could hardly survive even the calculated *in*action of a Republican administration. Lincoln's election was hardly "an immediate menace to slavery in the states" (as some writers have argued[118] with scanty supporting evidence), but it was indubitably an immediate menace to slavery *in the territories.* And the throttling of slavery in the territories would mean — according to the professed beliefs of opponents and defenders of slavery alike — the ultimate extinction of the institution everywhere. When the election of 1860 ended the possibility of federal protection for slavery in the territories, the principal leaders of the proslavery party chose, or accepted, the long-discussed alternative of secession.

Secession, however, was not in itself a program for the positive protection of slavery. Secession could not be an end in itself. It made sense only as the means to an end. And the end, unconcealed, was to create a new constitutional system, with built-in protection for slavery. To see the character of that system we have only to look at the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States of America, adopted on March 11, 1861.

The Confederate Constitution and Slavery

It has been conventional to say, with Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, that the framers of the Confederate Constitution "left unstated their most distinctive views."[119] The new document, it is true, was largely a scissors-and-paste redaction of the original Constitution of the United States and its amendments.[120] The

117. This was the essence of his "Freeport Doctrine": "It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations." Douglas, speech in debate at Freeport, Aug. 27, 1858, in Lincoln, *Collected Works,* III: 51.

118. Notably J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, cited in n. 20 above.

119. Stephenson, *The Day of the Confederacy* (New Haven, 1919), 10 n.

120. The texts of the Constitution of the United States and of the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States of America are convenient-

seceding states, ironically enough, said nothing whatever in their Constitution about the right of secession. Though the preamble included the phrase "each State acting in its sovereign and independent character," the actual restrictions placed upon the powers of the states were almost precisely what they had been in the old Constitution. The general government had slightly less power in certain respects and slightly more in others; on balance, the relative influence of the central government and the states was about the same as before.[121]

On one matter, however, the "distinctive views" of the framers were completely worked out. With respect to the extra-jurisdictional claims of slavery — particularly, its claim to protection throughout the territories — the Confederate Constitution left nothing to surmise or to chance. It spelled out every one of the crucial demands that proslavery leaders had made. But — and this is the most striking fact of all — once these demands were incorporated in the written Constitution, the state-sovereignty theory of the territories was quietly jettisoned. With respect to slavery, the Confederate Constitution created a much more "consolidated" union than any which antislavery leaders had been accused of desiring.

Partisans of slavery had denied that the old Constitution gave to Congress the power to legislate for the territories. Instead of clearing up the doubtful point by specifically denying Congress the disputed power and reserving it to the states, the framers of the Con-

ly printed in parallel columns, with differences indicated by italics, in App. K of Jefferson Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,* I: 648-75.

121. For example, protective tariffs, bounties, and federal appropriations for internal improvements were prohibited (Art. I, sec. 8, clauses 1 and 3), but export duties were permitted by two-thirds vote of both houses (Art. I, sec. 9, clause 6) and amendments to the Constitution required ratification by two thirds instead of three fourths of the states (Art. V, sec. 1). The phrase about "general welfare" was omitted from the grant of financial powers, but the "necessary and proper" clause was retained intact (Art. I, sec. 8, clauses 1 and 18). On the one hand, a state legislature might impeach a federal officer "resident and acting solely within [its] limits" (Art. I, sec. 2, clause 5); on the other, the power of the federal executive was enhanced by giving the President the power to veto individual items in an appropriation bill (Art. I, sec. 7, clause 2), by requiring a two-thirds vote of both houses to appropriate money not asked by him (Art. I, sec. 9, clause 9), by giving him an explicit removal power (Art. II, sec. 2, clause 3), and by authorizing Congress to grant Cabinet members a seat on the floor (Art. I, sec. 6, clause 2).

federate Constitution did precisely the opposite. They *granted* their Congress the power in set terms. After revising the old clause about "all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States," so that it would refer clearly to real estate,[122] they went on to add a new paragraph, the first sentence of which reads as follows:

> The Confederate States may acquire new territory; and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States, lying without the limits of the several States; and may permit them, at such times and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy.[123]

This was a grant of precisely the power which Republicans had insisted, all along, that the federal government did and must possess. Abandoned completely was the state-sovereignty argument that the federal government was, with respect to the territories, merely the trustee of the several states. The Confederate Constitution wiped out, at a stroke, the theory of the Union on which the Dred Scott decision had rested.

The reason for abandoning the state-sovereignty theory of the Union becomes obvious when one reads the rest of the clause just quoted. The following sentence completes the paragraph:

> In all such territory, the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.[124]

The institution of slavery was now placed, firmly and unequivocally, under *national* protection. The state-sovereignty theory of the territories, so long the basis of proslavery demands, had served its purpose. It was now not only useless but potentially harmful. It might conceivably weaken the centralized safeguards for slavery newly provided.

122. ". . . all needful rules and regulations concerning the property of the Confederate States, including the lands thereof." Art. IV, sec. 3, clause 2.

123. Art. IV, sec. 3, clause 3, sentence 1.

124. *Ibid.*, sentence 2.

Any danger to slavery from the policy of nationalization was effectually prevented by one new constitutional restriction on federal power. The Confederate Congress was forbidden to pass any "law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves."[125] Moreover, the new Constitution guaranteed to slaveowners extra-jurisdictional rights throughout the Confederacy — not only in the territories but within the member states as well. Citizens of each state were entitled to "the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired."[126] Finally, the fugitive-slave clause was enlarged to cover slaves "lawfully carried into" another state, as well as those escaping to it.[127] No law of any state, according to the new provision, could work the emancipation of a foreign-owned slave found upon its soil, no matter how the slave had come there.

One element of state sovereignty theoretically remained. A state was not forbidden to abolish slavery. It is difficult to say, however, exactly what the abolition of slavery by a single state could have actually meant, in the context of the Confederate Constitution. No time limit was specified in connection with the right of transit and sojourn. Any Confederate statute that prescribed the duration of a slaveowner's sojourn with his slaves in a state that had "abolished" slavery would undoubtedy run afoul of the provision forbidding any law "impairing the right of property in negro slaves." At the same time, a state statute that gave freedom to slaves who had been kept within its limits longer than a specified

125. Art. I, sec. 9, clause 4.

126. Art. IV, sec. 2, clause 1.

127. Art. IV, sec. 2, clause 3. Jefferson Davis embodied all these provisions in a proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States, which he presented to the Senate on Dec. 24, 1860: *"Resolved,* That it shall be declared, by amendment of the Constitution, that property in slaves, recognized as such by the local law of any of the States of the Union, shall stand on the same footing in all constitutional and Federal relations as any other species of property so recognized; and, like other property, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escape thereto, or of transit or sojourn of the owner therein; and in no case whatever shall such property be subject to be divested or impaired by any legislative act of the United States, or of any of the Territories thereof." *Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 190. Less than a month later Davis vacated his seat after announcing the secession of his state, Mississippi. *Ibid.,* 487 (Jan. 21, 1861).

time would certainly violate the Constitution, which forbade a state to discharge from service or labor a slave "lawfully carried into" it. Presumably a state might forbid its own citizens to possess slaves, but it could do little else. The state could not constitutionally exclude slaves or compel foreign slaveowners to remove or emancipate them. And it could hardly regulate the use to which such imported slaves might be put without transgressing one or another of the injunctions of the Confederate Constitution.

Slavery was no longer a local institution, the Confederate Constitution made it a national one. With respect to slavery the Confederacy was a unitary, consolidated, national state, denying to each of its allegedly sovereign members any sort of local autonomy with respect to this particular one among its domestic institutions.

Concluding Reflections

In the long aftermath of the Civil War, leaders of the former Confederacy built up an elaborate apologia explaining what they had been about. Central to their thesis was the assertion that the South had contended, single-mindedly and consistently, for one basic constitutional philosophy — the philosophy that opposed centralization and exalted local self-government. Writing in 1868, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President of the Confederate States, declared that "this whole subject of Slavery, so-called, in any and every view of it, was, to the Seceding States, but a drop in the ocean compared with . . . other considerations."[128] These were, in the highest and purest sense, constitutional considerations. The war, he maintained, resulted from the prolonged resistance of the South to "the assumption on the part of the Federal authorities, that the people of the several States were . . . citizens of the United States, and owed allegiance to the Federal Government, as the absolute Sovereign power over the whole country, consolidated into one Nation."[129]

A Lost Cause must have its myths. But before myths became necessary — before the cause became a lost one — Alexander H. Stephens saw just as clearly, and stated just as openly, as any other southern leader, the question at issue. On March 21, 1861, six

128. Stephens, *Constitutional View of the Late War between the States*, I: 542.

129. *Ibid.*, 29.

weeks after his election to the second highest post in the new Confederate government, Stephens delivered at Savannah what was thereafter known as his "corner-stone speech." Eulogizing the frame of government just erected, he said:

> The new constitution has put at rest, *forever,* all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution — African slavery as it exists amongst us — the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.

Explicitly repudiating the antislavery sentiments of Thomas Jefferson, Stephens continued:

> The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was . . . wrong in *principle,* socially, morally, and politically. . . . This was an error. . . .
>
> Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery — subordination to the superior race — is his natural and normal condition.
>
> This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.[130]

Alexander H. Stephens was speaking, in 1861, with complete understanding and complete accuracy. The drafters of the Confederate Constitution had added to the document they inherited only such provisions as they deemed essential for securing to themselves and their posterity the blessings they had given up hope of securing within the old Union. What these blessings were supposed to be, the Confederate Constitution made crystal clear. Its people were to enjoy the privilege of living — to use Stephens's carefully chosen words — under a government, the first in the history of the world, whose foundations were laid, whose cornerstone rested, upon the great philosophical and moral truth that the enslavement of one part of the human race is not a wrong but the opposite of a wrong — that slavery is the natural and normal condition of the colored races of the world. To build this principle into the very

130. Corner-Stone Speech, March 21, 1861, reprinted in Henry Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens, in Public and Private: With Letters and Speeches* (Philadelphia, 1866), 721. Stephens gave excerpts from this speech in his *Constitutional View,* II: 85-86, 521-24, but did not include the passages quoted here.

fabric of a new government was the purpose of the Confederate Constitution. To build it into the fabric of the old government had been the purpose of the constitutional theorists who elaborated the doctrine of state sovereignty before 1860.

State sovereignty, as I have already said, was a doctrine of power, not a doctrine of rights. Any contention that it operated to safeguard the *rights* of minorities is utterly specious.[131] What the theory did attempt to safeguard was the *power* of a regional elite, which happened to find itself a minority in the nation as a whole. And the power that was to be sustained included the power to domineer over all minorities within the ambit of authority and influence of this privileged group or class. By employing the high language of sovereignty, moreover, they were demanding a power that would be absolute, unquestioned, and uncontrolled.

State sovereignty was a theory designed not to protect but to override individual rights. This was the character of the doctrine during the crisis of 1846-1860, when its obvious purpose was to perpetuate a system that kept human beings in bondage, thus denying them the elementary right of freedom. This is the character of the refurbished doctrine today, when its obvious purpose is to perpetuate a system of racial segregation that denies to men and women of color the right to that "equal protection of the laws" which the Constitution of the United States explicitly guarantees.

131. The most respectable statement of this curious, but widely accepted, interpretation is by Jesse T. Carpenter. Writing in 1930, he said: "No problem is more pressing in governments of the people and by the people than the problem of minorities. If in a democracy political power resides in numbers, what rights, if any, has a minority to impose restraints upon the will of a numerical majority?" No one can deny the profound importance of the question, but one can well doubt Carpenter's assumption that a relevant answer can be found by conceiving "of the Old South as a sectional minority consciously striving for seventy odd years to evolve an adequate philosophy of protection to its interests in the American Union." His conclusion can only be described as fantastic: "Here in the first great experiment in democracy is found the first thorough treatment of democracy's greatest problem: the relation of numerical majority rule to effective minority protection." Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861* (New York, 1930), 3.

HAMILTON GARDNER

The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-1845 — A Unique Military Organization

Although he was a resident of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for several years before his death on January 30, Hamilton Gardner was born in Utah and served in both houses of the state legislature there — he was president of the senate in 1928-1929. He practiced law in Salt Lake City and taught in the University of Utah Law School. He was a veteran of World Wars I and II and the author of numerous articles on military history. His interest in the Nauvoo Legion began as a result of many years of work on a history of the Utah Territorial Militia.

BY THE SPRING of 1839 the Mormons who had been driven out of the state of Missouri had, for the most part, taken refuge in Illinois, where the people extended them a sympathetic welcome. The center of their new home was the small town of Commerce on the east bank of the Mississippi in Hancock County. The name of the post office there was changed to Nauvoo on April 21, 1840, and soon thereafter the citizens petitioned the Illinois legislature for a municipal charter. By an act approved December 16, 1840, by Governor Thomas Carlin, the legislature, of which Abraham Lincoln was a member, granted the city of Nauvoo a charter containing some unusually liberal provisions. It was made effective as of the first Monday in February, 1841.

One section of that charter authorized the formation of a local militia to be called the Nauvoo Legion. Since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in 1789 the militia of the states and territories has been governed by law. In no sense has it functioned *sui generis*. As early as the Second Congress the militia pro-

visions of the Constitution[1] were implemented by an act approved by President George Washington, May 8, 1792.[2] That act served as the basic charter of the American militia and remained in force and effect without substantial amendment until shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. It provided for the enrollment of "each and every free able-bodied white male citizen . . . of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years," and required that each man furnish his own arms, ammunition, and equipment. The militia was to "be arranged into divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions and companies, as the legislature of each state shall direct" -- a division to be commanded by a major general, a brigade by a brigadier general, a regiment by a lieutenant colonel (later amended to colonel), a battalion by a major, and a company by a captain. No provision was made for a higher rank than major general. The law also prescribed the office of state adjutant general, appointed by the governor of each state, to whom a yearly strength return was to be submitted.

When Illinois became a state on December 3, 1818, its militia organization was governed by Article V of the state constitution:

Sec. 1. The militia of the State of Illinois shall consist of all free male ablebodied persons, negroes, mulattoes and Indians excepted, resident of the State, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except such persons as now are, or hereafter may be exempted by the laws of the United States or of this State, and shall be armed, equipped, and trained as the General Assembly may provide by law.

Sec. 2. No person or persons, conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms shall be compelled to do militia duty in time of peace, provided such person or persons shall pay an equivalent for such exemption.

Sec. 3. Company, battalion and regimental officers, staff officers excepted, shall be elected by the persons composing their several companies, battalions and regiments.

Sec. 4. Brigadier and Major Generals shall be elected by the officers of their brigades and divisions respectively.

Sec. 5. All militia officers shall be commissioned by the Governor, and may hold their commissions during good behavior, or until they arrive at the age of sixty years.

Sec. 6. The militia shall, in all cases, except treason, felony or

1. Art. I, sec. 8; Art. II, sec. 2; and the Second Amendment.
2. *U.S. Statutes at Large,* I: 271-74 (chap. 33).

breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at musters and elections of officers, and in going to and returning from the same.[3]

That constitutional provision was still in effect, without change, in 1840. Most of the militia statutes then in force can be found in the Militia Code of 1833.[4] The code was amended in 1837, 1839, and 1843 and recodified in the *Revised Statutes of 1845* without substantive change.[5]

The 1845 code also closely followed the 1792 act of Congress. As to universal military obligation, it provided, "All free white male inhabitants, resident in this State, who are or shall be of the age of eighteen, and under the age of forty-five years . . . shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia . . . and every such person . . . shall . . . provide himself with a good musket, fuzee or rifle. . . . The field officers . . . shall be armed with a sword and pair of pistols, and the company officers with a sword" (Section 1).

Section 2 provided for the organization of the militia in divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies, according to counties, with Hancock County in the Third Brigade of the Fifth Division. Section 3 set out the officers for the militia, with a major general to head a division; a brigadier general, a brigade; and a colonel, a regiment. It contained no authorization for rank higher than major general and limited the number of staff officers allowed. A state adjutant general was to be appointed by the governor (Section 4), and his duties were prescribed in Section 65. Regimental, battalion, and company officers were to be elected by their enrolled enlisted men, and general officers by their commissioned subordinates. Exact rules for conducting the elections were enumerated in Sections 7, 11-14, 21, 75-76. An annual muster was required for each regiment in September (Section 25), and for each battalion and company in April (Sections 26 and 27), in addition to "drill musters" (Section 31).

Courts of inquiry and courts-martial were set up for the purpose

3. Published as part of *Revised Statutes, 1845* (Springfield, 1845), 36.

4. The Illinois Militia Code of 1833 was printed separately and not included in the *Revised Statutes* of that year.

5. Chap. LXX, pp. 355-78, deals with the Illinois military forces in eighty-five sections.

of investigating and trying military derelictions (Sections 37-42), and fines for nonattendance and other offenses were stated (Section 32). Provision was made for inducting the militia into state service at the call of the governor (Sections 43-50, 52). The authorized uniform of militia officers was to conform to that of the regular army (Section 55). Certain independent companies and separate battalions might be formed (Sections 8-10, 83) and adopt a constitution and bylaws (Sections 76-84).

Such were the federal and state constitutional and statutory foundations of the Nauvoo Legion, which was authorized in Section 25 of the Nauvoo city charter, granted by the Twelfth Illinois General Assembly:

> Sec. 25. The city council may organize the inhabitants of said city subject to military duty into a body of independent military men, to be called the "Nauvoo Legion," the court martial of which shall be composed of the commissioned officers of said legion, and constitute the law making department, with full powers and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute all such laws and ordinances as may be considered necessary for the benefit, government, and regulation of said legion: *Provided,* Said court martial shall pass no law or act repugnant to, or inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, and, *Provided, also*, That the officers of the legion shall be commissioned by the Governor of the State. The said legion shall perform the same amount of military duty as is now, or may be hereafter required of the regular militia of the State, and shall be at the disposal of the mayor in executing the laws and ordinances of the city corporation, and the laws of the State, and at the disposal of the Governor for the public defense, and the execution of the laws of the State, or of the United States, and shall be entitled to their proportion of the public arms, and, *Provided, also,* That said legion shall be exempt from all other military duty.[6]

Apparent at once to the military student is the incongruity of the provision that made the commissioned officers into a body with extensive law-making powers and called, inexactly, the "court martial." In the American Army a court-martial has always been

6. *Laws of Illinois, 1840-1841,* p. 57. The entire charter is also set forth in *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (B. H. Roberts, ed., Salt Lake City, 1902-1912), IV: 239-46. The volumes that deal with Period I of the history are based on the journal of Joseph Smith.

a judicial entity, functioning only (1) to hear the cases of military personnel accused of violating the Articles of War, (2) to determine innocence or guilt, and (3) to fix the prescribed sentence. It possesses and exercises no legislative duties whatsoever. Neither does an army court-martial perform any executive functions; that remains an attribute of command. A further departure from customary militia practice was the grant of authority to the mayor to call out the Legion to enforce city laws. (The later exercise of this prerogative proved to be one of the direct causes for the suppression of the Legion.) In considering the peculiar nature of these provisions, it must not be forgotten that they were approved by the Illinois legislature.

The Nauvoo City Council implemented this legislative grant of power in an ordinance passed February 8, 1841:

Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo, that the inhabitants of the City of Nauvoo, and such citizens of Hancock county as may unite by voluntary enrollment, be, and they are hereby organized into a body of independent military men, to be called the "Nauvoo Legion," as contemplated in the 25th section of "An Act to incorporate the City of Nauvoo," approved December 16, 1840.

Sec. 2. The Legion shall be, and is hereby divided into two cohorts; the horse troops to constitute the first cohort, and the foot troops to constitute the second cohort.

Sec. 3. The general officers of the Legion shall consist of a lieutenant-general, as the chief commanding and reviewing officer, and president of the court martial and Legion; a major-general, as the second in command in the Legion, the secretary of the court martial and Legion, and adjutant and inspector-general; a brigadier-general, as the commander of the first cohort; and a brigadier-general, as commander of the second cohort.

Sec. 4. The staff of the lieutenant-general shall consist of two principal aids-de-camp, with the rank of colonels of cavalry; and a guard of twelve aids-de-camp, with the rank of captain of infantry; and a drill officer, with the rank of colonel of dragoons, who shall likewise be the chief officer of the guard.

Sec. 5. The staff of the major-general shall consist of an adjutant, a surgeon-in-chief, a cornet, a quarter-master, a paymaster, a commissary, and a chaplain, with the rank of colonels of infantry; a surgeon for each cohort, a quarter-master-sergeant, sergeant-major, and

chief musician, with the rank of captains of light infantry, and two musicians, with the rank of captains of infantry.

Sec. 6. The staff of each brigadier-general shall consist of one aid-de-camp, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry, provided that the said brigadiers shall have access to the staff of the major-general, when not otherwise in service.

Sec. 7. No officer shall hereafter be elected by the various companies of the Legion, except upon the nomination of the court-martial; and it is hereby made the duty of the court-martial to nominate at least two candidates for each vacant office, whenever such vacancies occur.

Sec. 8. The court-martial shall fill and supply all offices ranking between captains and brigadier-generals by granting brevet commissions to the most worthy company officers of the line, who shall thereafter take rank, and command according to the date of their brevets, provided that their original place in the line shall not thereby be vacated.

Sec. 9. The court-martial, consisting of all the military officers, commissioned or entitled to commissions, within the limits of the city corporations, shall meet at the office of Joseph Smith, on Thursday, the 4th day of February, 1841, at 10 o'clock a.m.; and then and there proceed to elect the general officers of the Legion, as contemplated in the 3rd section of this ordinance.

Sec. 10. The court-martial shall adopt for the Legion, as nearly as may be, and so far as applicable, the discipline, drill, uniform, rules, and regulations of the United States army.

Passed February 8, 1841.
John C. Bennett, Mayor.
James Sloan, Recorder.[7]

Responsibility for this ordinance rested, of course, with the municipal council and not with the state legislature.

Even though the last paragraph asserted that the Legion should conform to the "discipline, drill, uniform, rules, and regulations of the United States army," it contained several military anomalies. The most unorthodox provision was the elaboration of the court-martial system. Not only was the court-martial authorized to enact military laws and regulations, as originally provided, but it was now empowered to nominate officers for original commissions and promotions. Unquestionably, this method of electing

7. *Ibid.*, IV: 293-94.

officers represented a departure from the procedure practiced universally in the militia of the states and territories. Whether it actually violated the United States Act of 1792, the Constitution of Illinois, and the Illinois Militia Code is a legal question not of particular importance here, because it was accepted by the state militia authorities.

Although Sections 8 to 10 and 83 of the Militia Code authorized the formation of independent companies and separate battalions, and Sections 76 to 84 empowered those units to adopt constitutions and bylaws for their "regulation and government," the city militia ordinance contemplated a military setup vastly larger than a company or battalion. As a matter of practical fact, no such thing as an *independent* unit has ever existed in the armed forces of the United States, whether of civilian militia or of the professional army. Each body is a component part of an over-all organization, subject to command and discipline in accordance with federal and state constitutions and laws. (This very independence later proved to be one of the factors which brought about the undoing of the Legion.)

The nomenclature was in some respects also unique. Ancient Rome first used the term "legion," applying it to a body of about ten thousand soldiers. A "cohort" was one-tenth of a legion. Major General Henry Knox, secretary of war in the Cabinet of President Washington, directed on December 27, 1792, that both the army and the militia be divided into legions and sub-legions, but the plan was never installed in the militia and had only indifferent success with the regulars. It was discarded officially May 30, 1796.[8] "Cohort" was never used. Just why these titles were adopted in Nauvoo does not appear. Similarly, the special staff function of "drill officer" has never been known in the United States Army, since all officers in command of units, large or small, are presumed to be qualified to drill and train them.

The ordinance specified that the commander of the Legion was to hold the exalted rank of lieutenant general. Since the city charter granted by the legislature was silent on that point, it

8. William Addleman Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army* (New York and London, 1942), 99-103.

became a subject of bitter dispute later. Except for George Washington no officer in the United States Army, either regular or militia, had held the permanent lineal rank of lieutenant general up to that time.[9] In 1847 Winfield Scott received the honorary rank of brevet lieutenant general for his service in the Mexican War,[10] but he did not acquire higher command functions, for in the line he remained a major general. In the Civil War it required a special act of Congress to promote Ulysses S. Grant to the permanent rank of lieutenant general.[11] The Act of 1792 provided for no rank beyond major general. The highest rank mentioned in the Illinois Constitution and statutes was that of major general, in command of a division. The matter may be considered academic, however, because Illinois Adjutant General Moses K. Anderson recommended that Joseph Smith be appointed a lieutenant general; Secretary of State Lyman Trumbull issued the commission; and Governor Thomas Carlin signed it. Just why all this was done still remains unexplained.

The original city militia ordinance did not mention age limits for military obligation in Nauvoo, but the question was clarified on February 20, 1841, when the court-martial adopted a resolution fixing the usual limits of eighteen and forty-five years. This same enactment set up a scale of fines for nonattendance at musters and ceremonies.[12]

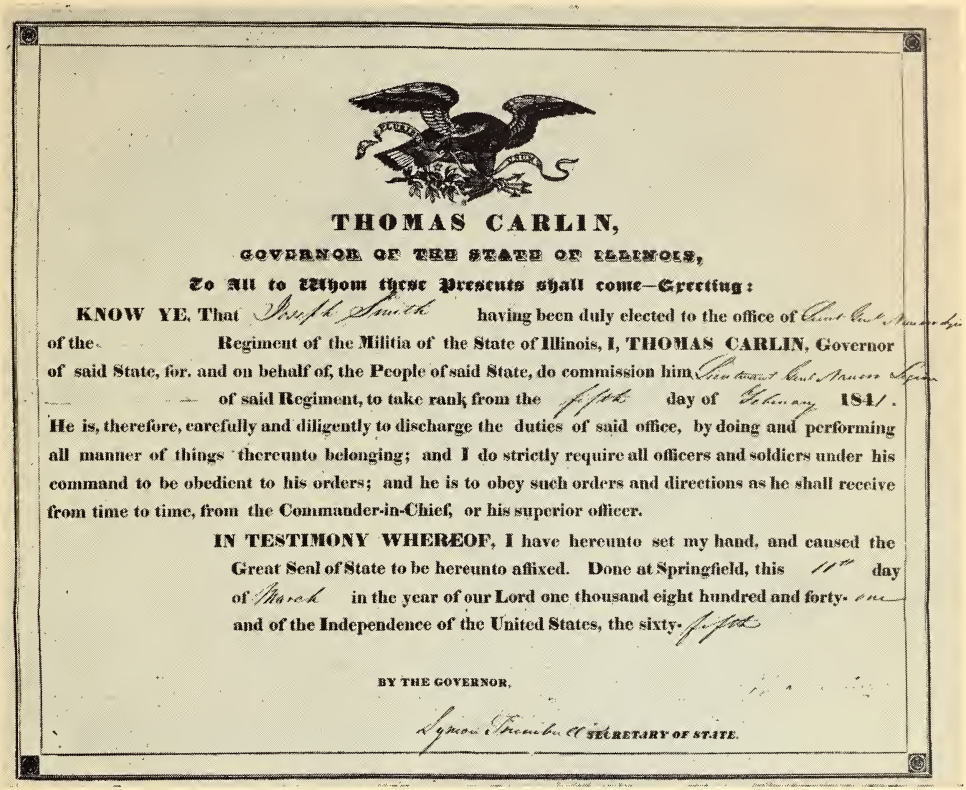
The organization of a military force usually starts with lower echelons and proceeds upward; this method seems to have been followed in the early stages of the Nauvoo Legion. "The Legion

9. It is a matter of almost universal knowledge that on June 15, 1775, the Continental Congress designated George Washington as commander in chief of the American Revolutionary Army with the rank of general. What is less well known is that President John Adams, on July 3, 1798, commissioned Washington a lieutenant general in the United States Army. The First President held this rank until he died Dec. 14, 1799. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from Its Organization September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (Washington, 1903), I: 1004-7.

10. *Ibid.*, 870.

11. The act was approved Feb. 29, 1864; *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885-1886), II: 114-15; *U. S. Statutes at Large,* XIII: 11-12.

12. *History of the Church,* IV: 300.



THOMAS CARLIN,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS,

To All to Whom these Presents shall come—Greeting:

KNOW YE, That Joseph Smith having been duly elected to the office of Lieut Gen Nauvoo Legion of the Regiment of the Militia of the State of Illinois, I, THOMAS CARLIN, Governor of said State, for, and on behalf of, the People of said State, do commission him Lieutenant Gen Nauvoo Legion of said Regiment, to take rank from the 5th day of February 1841. He is, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duties of said office, by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging; and I do strictly require all officers and soldiers under his command to be obedient to his orders; and he is to obey such orders and directions as he shall receive from time to time, from the Commander-in-Chief, or his superior officer.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Great Seal of State to be hereunto affixed. Done at Springfield, this 11th day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-one and of the Independence of the United States, the sixty-fifth

BY THE GOVERNOR,

Lyman Trumbull SECRETARY OF STATE.

Courtesy A. William Lund, assistant church historian, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City

Joseph Smith's commission as lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion, dated February 5, 1841, and signed by Governor Thomas Carlin and Secretary of State Lyman Trumbull.

at its organization," Joseph Smith stated, "was composed of six companies."[13]

The official records of commissions issued to Illinois Militia officers were maintained in the office of the state adjutant general and are now in the Illinois State Archives. Although they are not complete for the period 1840 to 1845, rosters containing data on almost one thousand officers, including those of the Nauvoo Legion, were made available for this study.[14] Unfortunately, the muster

13. *Ibid.*, 296.

14. I am greatly obliged to Miss Margaret C. Norton, former assistant state archivist of Illinois, who very courteously furnished a microfilm of these returns to me. Excerpts from the original records of the adjutant general will be cited hereafter as Ill. AGO.

rolls and returns showing the names and numbers of noncommissioned officers and privates have not been preserved.

One of the earliest rosters of officers in the original Legion companies and battalions was dated "Springfield March 23rd 1841" and certified as correct by Adjutant General Anderson.[15] The list contains the names and ranks of seventy-six officers, many of whom subsequently became important figures in Utah history. At least five were members of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War.[16]

The high command of the Nauvoo Legion was activated Thursday, February 4, 1841, at "a court-martial, composed of the commissioned officers of the state of Illinois, within the city of Nauvoo, assembled at the office of Joseph Smith." One lieutenant general, one major general, and two brigadier generals, all church leaders, were elected "by unanimous vote of the court-martial."[17] Joseph Smith was chosen lieutenant general; John C. Bennett, major general; and Wilson Law and Don Carlos Smith, brigadiers.[18]

With a nucleus of four companies each, regimental organizations were effected May 1 and July 3. The following officers were elected:

First Cohort. *First Regiment*—George Miller, colonel; Stephen Markham, lieutenant colonel; William Wightman, major. *Second Regiment*—George Coulson, colonel; Josiah Ells, lieutenant colonel; Hyrum Kimball, major.

Second Cohort. *First Regiment*—Charles C. Rich, colonel; Titus Billings, lieutenant colonel; John Scott, major. *Second Regiment*—Francis M. Higbee, colonel; Nelson Higgins, lieutenant colonel; Aaron

15. Ill. AGO.

16. For a brief history and bibliography of the Mormon Battalion, see the "Report of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke of His March from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to San Diego, Upper California," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (Jan., 1954): 15 ff., edited and annotated by Hamilton Gardner. This is a reprint from House Executive Document 41, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., 551-63.

17. The details are set forth in the journal of Joseph Smith; *History of the Church*, IV: 295-96.

18. The commissions for Law and the two Smiths are listed on a March 10 roster certified by Adjutant General Anderson and filed March 20, 1841; Bennett's commission was recorded on a roster dated Feb. 16 and filed June 14. All the commissions were effective as of Feb. 5. Ill. AGO.

H. Golden, major. *Third Regiment*—Samuel Bent, colonel; George Morey, lieutenant colonel; William Niswanger, major.[19]

As far as known, the Legion held its first parade and review on Tuesday, April 6.[20] Later in the year similar ceremonies were conducted by the commanding general, but no muster rolls or strength returns of these assemblies are now in the adjutant general's files.

On August 10 Legion headquarters issued a general order reporting the death of Brigadier General Don Carlos Smith, youngest brother of Joseph Smith. The younger Smith had headed the Second Cohort, whose commissioned officers elected Charles C. Rich to fill the vacancy caused by his death.[21]

Other Legion officers elected about the time Smith died are named in an unsigned letter to the adjutant general, dated August 10, 1841. Among them were "Sidney Rigdon, Judge Advocate of the Nauvoo Legion"; "Samuel Hix, Armour-bearer to the Major General of the Nauvoo Legion"; "Brigham Young, H. C. Kimball, P. P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, John E. Page, Assistant Chaplains of the 1st Cohort"; and "John Taylor, W. Woodruff, W. Smith, W. Richards, G. A. Smith, & W. Marks . . . Assistant Chaplains, 2 Cohort." Eleven of these twelve chaplains were members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles of the Latter-day Saints church; Marks, though a high church official, was not an Apostle.[22]

The last list of commissions in the file of the adjutant general for 1841 contains the names of Wilson Law, Hyrum Smith, William Law, George Miller, A. P. Rockwood, Lyman Wight, and George Robinson — all brevet major generals.[23] Others on the roster were Edward Hunter (later of the Mormon Battalion), designated "Herald and Armor Bearer to Lieut Gen," and John Taylor, judge advocate.[24]

Such were the beginnings of the Nauvoo Legion of Illinois. As of September 11, 1841, its strength was 1,490 men.[25]

19. *History of the Church,* IV: 353, 382.
20. *Ibid.,* 326, 382.
21. *Ibid.,* 400, 414.
22. Ill. AGO, "filed October 16, 1841."
23. Ill. AGO, "filed Dec. 14, 1841."
24. *Ibid.*
25. *History of the Church,* IV: 415.

During 1842 the citizens of Nauvoo continued to expand their militia; by May 7 the Legion had twenty-six companies and "about two thousand trooops."[26] On that date Lieutenant General Smith held a parade and review in honor of distinguished visitors, including Judge Stephen A. Douglas. Shortly thereafter, Major General John C. Bennett was excommunicated from the church, ousted from the civil office of mayor of Nauvoo, and shorn of his military rank. Wilson Law was elected major general in his place, to rank from August 13. The report to the adjutant general of Law's election was made on August 17 by James Sloan, "War Secretary" of the Legion.[27]

The files of the adjutant general's office contain numerous other 1842 rosters of officers elected and commissioned. A June 16 roster included Sloan as "War Secretary to the Major General"; "James Brown [subsequently captain, Company C, Mormon Battalion], Lieutenant Colonel 4 Regiment, 2 Cohort"; "William Pitt [an early band leader in Utah], Musician to the Nauvoo Legion"; and "Charles C. Rich, Brevet Major General June 3, 1842."[28] Commissions were also issued that month to "George Cooke — Surgeon General of the Nauvoo Legion — with the title Major General" and "Hiram Kimball Major General."[29]

The year 1843 witnessed still further growth of the Legion. On April 24 War Secretary Sloan sent the adjutant general a list that contained the name of Nelson Higgins (later captain of Company D in the Mormon Battalion), who was to be commissioned "Colonel, 2 Regiment, 2 Cohort — from July 30th 1843"; and on May 6 Hosea Stout, an early attorney general of Utah Territory, became colonel of the Fifth Regiment, Second Cohort.[30]

Late in the year, in view of impending trouble, Joseph Smith, as mayor of Nauvoo, instructed Major General Law to hold necessary portions of the Legion in readiness "to compel obedience to the ordinances of said city and secure the peace of the citizens."[31]

26. *Ibid.*, V: 3.
27. Ill. AGO.
28. Ill. AGO, June 6, 1842.
29. Adjutant General to the Secretary of State, June 20, 1842, in Ill. AGO.
30. Ill. AGO.
31. *History of the Church,* VI: 104.

The instructions were repeated in substance on December 18, 1843.[32]

It is virtually impossible, because of a lack of relevant data, to rate the Nauvoo Legion as a military unit with respect to efficiency, discipline, equipment, armament, uniforms, and readiness for field service. The remaining records of the state adjutant general supply no information as to the number and nature of drills and musters or as to maneuvers — if any. Nor is anything known of the state of discipline in the Legion. In general, discipline in the militia of the United States at this period was not conspicuous for its effectiveness. Yet it is a reasonable assumption that the requirement of strict obedience to leadership in the church hierarchy probably manifested itself also in the Legion.

As to the state of training, any conclusions must remain highly speculative. In 1843 Nauvoo still stood on the edge of the western frontier. It might be inferred, therefore, that the native-born Americans, who almost exclusively constituted the membership of the Legion, knew how to shoot and had some skill in horsemanship. If the Legion had taken to the field for extended service, it would no doubt have stood out as a notable exception to the militia of the time.

No reliable facts are available about the auxiliary services of the Legion — supply, ordnance, or medical care. The Illinois Militia Code required uniforms similar to those of the regular forces. Whether the Legion wore uniforms at its parades and reviews is unknown, and the age of photography was not sufficiently advanced to leave any evidence on the point. If the Legion behaved in accordance with the practice of contemporaneous militia bodies, however, the high-ranking officers probably appeared in colorful and flamboyant dress, while the enlisted men made shift with such homemade accouterments and clothing as they could piece together. For the most part the militiamen supplied their own weapons; yet the War Department and the state of Illinois did furnish some armament. Governor Thomas Ford stated that "the Legion had been furnished with three pieces of cannon and about two hundred and fifty stand of small arms; which popular

32. *Ibid.*, 120.

rumor increased to the number of thirty pieces of cannon and five or six thousand stand of muskets."[33]

In one characteristic, however, the fully developed Nauvoo Legion stood out as unique among American militia organizations: the large proportion of generals to privates. Although the Illinois Militia Code provided for only six major generals (to command the state's six divisions), the Legion had at least thirteen officers of that lofty rank and an even greater number of brigadiers. One of Utah's most distinguished soldiers, Brigadier General Richard W. Young, declared that "the Nauvoo Legion was a very top heavy corps. The staffs of the general officers were unusually large and somewhat fantastic."[34]

The troubles of the Mormon people erupted with violence in 1844. This study is not concerned with these difficulties except as the Nauvoo Legion was involved.

With the influx of new converts Nauvoo had experienced a phenomenally rapid growth. It now claimed to be the largest city in Illinois, with a population of at least 12,000 and perhaps as high as 20,000. The Legion had mushroomed in proportion, attaining an estimated 5,000 members. The non-Mormon citizens in the surrounding area looked with some apprehension at the Mormons' independent armed body, which Governor Ford called "a military force at their own command."[35]

Not only was persecution raging from without, but serious defections were occurring within the church itself. Already John C. Bennett and Sidney Rigdon had apostasized. They were soon followed by Wilson and William Law, the former being the Legion's

33. Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois, from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago and New York, 1854), 268.

34. Richard W. Young, "The Nauvoo Legion," *The Contributor,* IX (1888-1889): 42. This was an official publication of the church, later suspended. General Young's articles dealt primarily with the Indian campaigns in early Utah. A grandson of Brigham Young's, he was graduated from West Point, class of 1882, and from Columbia Law School. Upon retirement in 1889 he practiced law in Salt Lake City but returned to active duty during the Spanish-American War, serving in the Philippines with the Utah Volunteer Batteries. Again during World War I he became colonel and brigadier general, Fortieth Division, in France. He died in 1920.

35. Ford, *History of Illinois,* 265. On the population of Nauvoo, see the *Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1940), IV: 68.

ranking major general. Soon thereafter, with several members of the Higbee and Foster families, the Laws started a newspaper called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. The city council regarded the first and only edition of June 7 as so scurrilous that on June 10 it declared the paper a public nuisance and authorized the mayor to have it abated. He directed the city marshal to destroy the *Expositor* press and ordered Jonathan Dunham, acting major general, to use the Nauvoo Legion in assisting the marshal, "if called upon to do so."[36] By eight o'clock that night the marshal reported back to the mayor that he had destroyed the newspaper's press and equipment.

So far as the Legion was concerned, this event marked the beginning of the end. Anti-Mormons accused it of being the instrumentality used to suppress the *Expositor*. According to Governor Ford, the "rejected Mormons" went to Carthage, where they took out warrants against the mayor and council for riot; these officials were arrested but were released by the city court on a writ of habeas corpus. Meanwhile, the greatest excitement prevailed. The Nauvoo Legion was called out and the city placed under martial law. Finally, Governor Ford personally went to Hancock County, where a force of armed Illinois Militia, estimated at between 1,600 and 1,800 men, had mobilized — but still a small number when compared to the Nauvoo Legion.

From Carthage he sent word to Smith and the council that if they surrendered, they would be protected. Otherwise, he said, "the whole force of the State would be called out . . . to compel their submission."[37] As a result, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum agreed to submit to arrest on charges of inciting a riot and went to Carthage, where they were incarcerated in the Hancock County jail. On June 27, having ordered most of the militia disbanded, Governor Ford went to Nauvoo, accompanied by two of the three Illinois Militia companies still on active duty. While he was gone, the prisoners at Carthage, who were under the ostensible protection of the Carthage Grays (a local militia company), were attacked

36. *History of the Church,* VI: 432 ff.; Ford, *History of Illinois,* 323-32.
37. *Ibid.,* 332-36; quotation from p. 332. See Ford's letter to Smith in *History of the Church,* VI: 533-37.

by a mob of approximately two hundred armed men and Joseph and Hyrum Smith were killed.[38]

The death of the leader of the Latter-day Saints marked the virtual end of the Nauvoo Legion. Only two documents concerning the unit are found in the files of the adjutant general after that time. The first is related to Brigham Young's succession to the command of the organization:

Adjutant Generals Office
Springfield Sept 23rd 1844

Officers Names	*Rank*	*Cohort*	*Date of Rank*
Brigham Young	Lieut General	Nauvoo Legion	31st August 1844
Charles C Rich	Major General	" "	" " "
Jonathan Dunham	Brigadier Gen	2 Cohort Nauvoo Legion	14th Sept. 1844

I hereby certify the foregoing list of officers to be correct as appears from election returns filed in my office

M K Anderson Adjt Gen
By James Shepherd

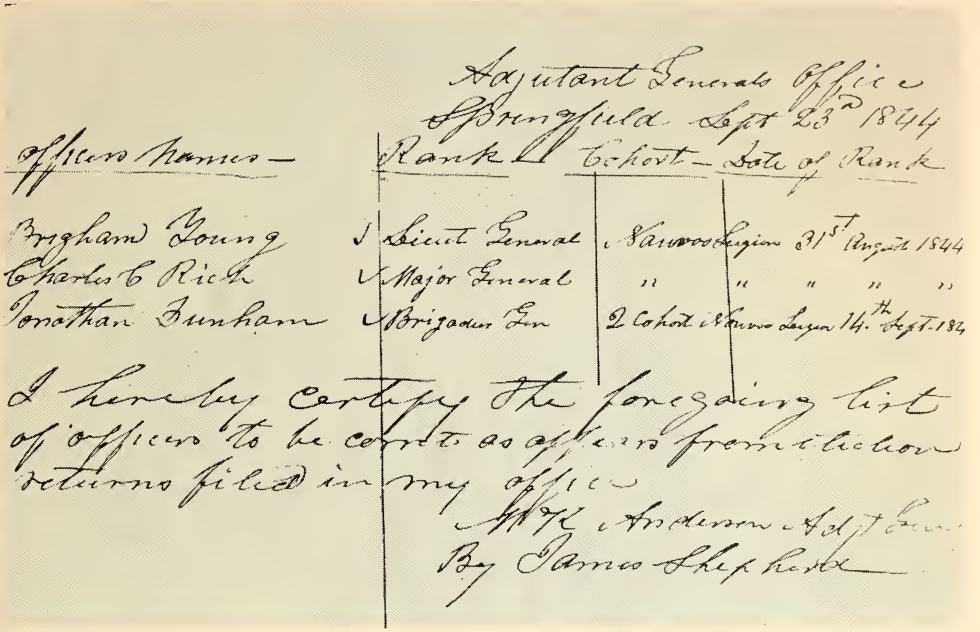
Indorsed 1844 Militia Returns Nauvoo Legion Dec 16[39]

The other is a roster listing commissions for one major and seventeen junior officers.[40]

The bitter feeling that now ran rampant in the Nauvoo area was reflected in high places in the state, and, in January, 1845, the Illinois legislature repealed the city charter. That action terminated the legal authority for the Legion and it became officially dead.

But the Latter-day Saints did not forget their military unit in "Nauvoo the Beautiful." In 1849, three years after leaving Illinois for a new home in the Rocky Mountains, they formed the provisional State of Deseret and, as part of the government, created a comprehensive militia force, called unofficially the Nauvoo Legion. The title became legal in 1852 through one of the earliest statutes

38. See George R. Gayler, "Governor Ford and the Death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* L (Winter, 1957): 391-411.
39. Ill. AGO, Sept. 23, 1844.
40. Ill. AGO, Dec. 12, 1844.



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Courtesy Illinois State Archives

The Illinois Adjutant General's certification of the election of Brigham Young as lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion.

of the newly founded Territory of Utah. The Legion flourished under that name until 1870, when its activities were prohibited by proclamation of Territorial Governor J. Wilson Shaffer. Congress finally abolished the Legion in 1887, but it was revived in 1894 as the National Guard of Utah.

HAROLD P. SIMONSON

Francis Grierson — A Biographical Sketch and Bibliography

Harold P. Simonson, chairman of the department of English at the University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington, has written a full-length biography of the musician-essayist Francis Grierson and has also edited Cross Currents: A Collection of Essays from Contemporary Magazines, *published in 1959 by Harper's. He has two other books scheduled for publication:* Zona Gale *in the "U.S. Authors Series" and* Trio: Stories, Plays, and Poems, *to be issued by Harper's. He received his doctorate from Northwestern University in 1958.*

BURIED IN AMERICA'S literary past are some remarkable writers who received only slight attention during their lifetimes or were forgotten soon after their deaths. One of these writers, Francis Grierson, has caught the interest of literary historians in recent years. When the fifth edition of his *Valley of Shadows* (1909) appeared in 1948, Edmund Wilson gave it a full-scale review in the *New Yorker* (September 18, 1948). Theodore Spencer said in his introduction to this edition that the book was "a minor classic," and Bernard DeVoto suggested that Grierson's unusual literary power justified the deletion of Spencer's adjective. Other scholars (Roy P. Basler, Carl Sandburg, and Van Wyck Brooks, to name but three[1]) have been struck by the strange career of Grierson, who, unschooled and unannounced, made his way from a log cabin in Sangamon County, Illinois, to the most elite courts and literary circles of Europe.

Grierson's real name was Benjamin Henry Jesse Francis Shepard;

1. Roy P. Basler, *The Lincoln Legend* (Boston, 1935), 46, 183-85; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years* (New York, 1926), II: 151, 155-56; Van Wyck Brooks, *The Confident Years, 1885-1915* (New York, 1952), 258, 267-70, 432, 433, and *Scenes and Portraits: Memories of Childhood and Youth* (New York, 1954), 229-31.

he took his mother's family name when he published *Modern Mysticism* in 1899. He was born on September 18, 1848, in the town of Birkenhead, across the Mersey River from Liverpool, England. Distressed by the widespread economic depression (which by 1850 had sent nearly nineteen thousand English settlers to Illinois alone), his parents emigrated in 1849 and settled the same year in Sangamon County. His father, Joseph Shepard, was much less a farmer than he appears in *The Valley of Shadows.* Unfamiliar with agriculture, unsuccessful in a horse-selling business, constantly troubled with sore eyes while in the country, and restless to obtain a government position in St. Louis, he spent only ten years in Illinois before moving to that city. To Emily Grierson Shepard, his mother, the Illinois prairies were lonesome and monotonous, and it was not until the family moved to Chicago in 1865 that she enjoyed life in America. In several letters to her first cousin, General Benjamin H. Grierson of the Union Army, she complained about the American frontier and looked forward to returning to "civilized life" in England. "For my part," she wrote him from England in 1874, "I lost so many precious years of my life wandering in the wilderness."[2]

For young Grierson the sojourn in Illinois was by no means unhappy. In later years he remembered this period as a time when he could "wander about amidst a sea of wild flowers." He wrote in *The Valley of Shadows* that his cosmopolitan life in the capitals of Europe did not suffice "to alienate the romance and memory of those wonderful times." The strain of mysticism throughout his writing can be traced back to his childhood on the prairies, where close at hand were strange nightly noises of prairie birds and animals, and not far away the Mississippi River flowing "in one fixed and endless direction."

Young Grierson and his sister, Letitia, attended no school until the family moved to St. Louis when he was ten. He was, however, aware of the political excitement also close at hand. When the family lived for a time in Macoupin County, near Palmyra, their log house served as a station in the Underground Railway.

2. Francis Grierson Letters, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

Francis Grierson — this photograph was taken in London in 1902.

Grierson's father several times barely avoided serious trouble with his neighbors who were strongly touched with Southern sympathies. Most memorable to the boy was the last Lincoln-Douglas debate at Alton. In language Sandburg found so compelling, Grierson wrote in *The Valley of Shadows* that on that October day in 1858 he remembered Lincoln as one standing "like some solitary pine on a lonely summit, very tall, very dark, very gaunt, and very rugged, his swarthy features stamped with a sad serenity."[3]

After five years in St. Louis, where he served as a page on the staff of General John C. Frémont, Grierson moved with his family first to Niagara Falls and then to Chicago. His important move came in 1869 when he set out alone for France, and as a skillful piano improvisator gained the respect of composer François Auber and many royal families in whose courts he played. During the next twenty years he traveled widely in both Europe and America, crossed the Atlantic several times, and once went to Australia. In 1887 he began writing for San Diego's *Golden Era,* a literary magazine to which Bret Harte and Mark Twain also contributed. Two

3. P. 198 of the Houghton Mifflin 1909 ed.

volumes of Grierson's essays, *Pensées et Essais* and *Essays and Pen-Pictures,* published two years later in Paris, were richly praised by Stéphane Mallarmé and Paul Verlaine. During the next thirty years he published other volumes of essays which generally showed him as a belated romantic, hostile toward the new movements of literary realism, naturalism, and philosophical determinism.

Of all his published work, the one book receiving most notice was *The Valley of Shadows,* which consists of reminiscences about his early days in Illinois and Missouri. In it he pictured the ante-bellum days in the Midwest before industrialism and the Civil War had destroyed the old order. Grierson attempted to interpret the moods of the pioneers who saw the oncoming shadows of war and who puzzled over the symbolic meaning of the appearance of Donati's comet in 1858: one interpretation of the comet was that it prophesied that one from among the people would rise to lead them. Grierson's book is also about Abraham Lincoln; Roy P. Basler asserted in *The Lincoln Legend* (1935) that of the many interpretations of Lincoln the mystic, Grierson's is "by far the most entrancing."[4]

Grierson did not give up his music when he seriously started writing. In his concerts abroad he had held his aristocratic, cultivated audiences enrapt as he wove his piano improvisations. Hearers testified that Grierson could produce the weirdest and most powerfully emotional music they had ever known. The reaction of the famous English publisher John Lane was typical. Lane's biographer, J. Lewis May, records that Grierson played on and on as the twilight deepened. Finally in the gloom he improvised on the sinking of the *Titanic.* The treatment of the theme was so overwhelmingly impressive and had such a profound effect upon Lane that he postponed for a fortnight his departure for America, although he had arranged to sail the very next day.

Grierson's interests also included spiritualism. He conducted séances in Europe and America, using his music to set the atmosphere. At the Eddy farm in Chittenden, Vermont, in 1874, he met the two founders of Theosophy, Madame H. P. Blavatsky and

4. P. 183.

Colonel Henry Steel Olcott. Later in San Diego he persuaded two brothers, newly converted spiritualists themselves, to build him a house valued at over $30,000 in which he held séances and recitals. Called the Villa Montezuma, the house became known as a temple of occultism. Still later, in Los Angeles, he lectured as a "World-Famous Mystic" on prophecy, vision, cosmic consciousness, and four-dimensional space. His last book, *Psycho-Phone Messages* (1921), purports to record spirit-messages he received from illustrious men and women of the past.

His final years in Los Angeles were spent with his faithful amanuensis for over forty years, Lawrence Waldemar Tonner, and with Count Michael Teliki, a refugee from Hungary and the last of a long family of magnates. Teliki and Tonner operated a small dry cleaning business, but profits were hardly sufficient to support the three of them plus Teliki's mother. Grierson repeatedly pawned souvenirs for food. A week before his death, at the age of seventy-nine, he pawned a gold watch given to him by King Edward VII. On May 29, 1927, he gave a recital for a group of close friends. After his final improvisation he slumped over the keys and died.

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Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Approximately two hundred fifty letters and telegrams from important national politicians to Herman Henry Kohlsaat, Chicago newspaper publisher, have been presented to the Historical Library by Kohlsaat's daughter, Mrs. Roger B. Shepard of St. Paul, Minnesota.

Kohlsaat, who began his career as a restaurant and bakery owner, was active in newspaper publishing and Republican Party circles for many years. He called himself a "brutal friend" of Republican presidents, criticizing them when he felt it necessary. His correspondence, dating from 1893 to 1924, includes letters from William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, and Calvin Coolidge. Most of them request information or political advice. Many include invitations to dine at the White House.

There are practically no communications from Kohlsaat, with one notable exception, a copy of a letter written to Theodore Roosevelt during the 1912 political campaign. In it Kohlsaat spoke as the "brutal friend" and told the former President why he could not support his candidacy on the Progressive ticket, adding that the Democratic Party's chances were enhanced greatly by his actions. "I can't see any possible chance" for your success, he wrote. "There is a great change taking place throughout the Middle West since your Columbus speech. There is no sympathy whatever with 'the recall of judicial decisions,' the 'anti-third term' sentiment is strong, and the feeling that it is unfair to Taft is growing."

The letters also provide further insights into other important figures of the early twentieth century. Men such as Mark Hanna, Elihu Root, and Charles Evans Hughes were in frequent touch with Kohlsaat and respected his standing in party circles.

The only major published record of Kohlsaat's role in history is a book titled *From McKinley to Harding,* which he wrote toward the end of his career. Many of the documents now in the Historical Library were reproduced in that volume.

Bernard Wax

Book Reviews

TRAGIC YEARS, 1860-1865: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WAR

By Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers. (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1960. 2 vols. Pp. x, 1097. $15.)

Their readers are conditioned by experience to expect nothing but the best when Paul Angle and Earl Miers collaborate. *Tragic Years* is no exception; in fact, it increases respect for their work.

There has long been a need for a book like this — a documentary history of the Civil War. The authors have selected their material with great wisdom and have woven the individual selections into a continuous narrative. Their understanding of the war and its significance is clearly expressed in the Introduction:

> These two volumes tell the story of a profound social revolution. The vehicle of its birth was the bloodiest civil war the world had known, yet that war resulted from the angry act of headstrong men unable to agree why they fought. A sense of duty to family and home, of loyalty to tradition, of honor for principle — these emotions soldiers of the North and South shared. Through four tragic years of bloodletting both parts of the warring nation were sustained by the same conviction of a just cause in the sight of God. So passionate was this belief that when at last an exhausted South could fight no longer, surrender was far more a physical necessity than a yielding of mind and heart.

As a story, the war contained many fascinations. It was a war fought with no holds barred, a war that posed problems of finance to strain the mind of an Alexander Hamilton and problems of military strategy and tactics to baffle the imagination of a Napoleon. Its politics were sometimes unbelievable, its corruption and cupidity often degrading, and its courage (on the field and at home) usually magnificent. Through each event, each mood ran a common thread that gives the pattern and dash of color to any mosaic depicting those four years of strife. In tidewater or upland Virginia, within sultry Mississippi bayous or along the raw frontier of the Southwest, this war was American in its style, in its villains and heroes, its practical and moral objectives.

The world watched this war. It had lessons for people everywhere. It was terrible and yet grand, fearful and yet inspiring, tragic and yet satisfying. In the end, it justified a time-honored faith — "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

And with it, responsibilities still unmet.

These two volumes cost $15, but it is hard to imagine that there is any other work on the Civil War that gives the reader so much for his money. C.C.W.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES WEATHER BUREAU

By Donald R. Whitnah. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1961. Pp. 267. $6.00.)

During the War of 1812 a surgeon general of the United States Army issued a directive to his hospital sergeants to make weather observations and record them. From this beginning Donald Whitnah traces the ups and downs, the political storms, and the meteorological storms that have beset our country's weather reporting agency for the past one hundred fifty years.

There were many attempts to establish weather reporting services before the Secretary of War was authorized by Congress, on December 16, 1869, to provide for the taking of meteorological observations at all military stations in the interior of the continent. After considerable discussion as to whom the weather service should be entrusted, responsibility for organization was given to the Signal Corps, which had constructed telegraph lines during the Civil War. Two prominent scientists, Increase A. Lapham and Cleveland Abbe — who are given credit for establishing a permanent national weather service — were called on for help by Colonel A. J. Myer of the Signal Corps. Even in this early formative period, the agency's weather forecasts were verified better than 80 per cent of the time, and the service was rapidly expanded to include river and flood data collection and forecasting, hurricane service, and weather reports for shippers on the Great Lakes, in addition to forecasts for farmers. Research in the upper air was carried on through the use of balloons. Studies of tornadoes were made and standards developed for thermometry. All this went on at a time when work in the field stations was not always meteorological and included performing extra services in Indian wars and yellow fever epidemics.

In spite of this vigorous activity on the part of the infant agency, Congress often complained about the Signal Corps weather service, using such occasions to readjust operations or reduce costs. Gradual curtailment of operations due to cuts in appropriations led to further criticisms which had some measure of justification in the Howgate scandal, a messy affair involving embezzlement of government funds. When, in 1886, an investigating commission reported unfavorably on the mixed military and civilian regime in the weather service, Congress put the Weather Bureau under the Department of Agriculture, where it remained until 1940, when the rise of commercial aviation necessitated its being placed in the Department of Commerce.

The Organization Act of 1890 charged the chief of the Weather Bureau with forecasting weather for agriculture, commerce, and navigation. He was also instructed to take sufficient observations to establish and record the climate of the United States. Under the Air Commerce Act of 1926, the duties of the bureau were increased to include furnishing weather reports, forecasts, warnings, and advices as required to promote the safety and efficiency of air navigation and navigation above the high seas.

The author carefully chronicles the unparalleled expansion that followed passage of this act, bringing in the bureau's part in the drama of the early transatlantic flights and the establishment of commercial aviation in the United States. Also included are references to all the important researches toward improved forecasting techniques that the Weather Bureau has pursued. The book ends on an optimistic note concerning space weather stations and the achievements of Tiros I. Although it is a heavily referenced work, it provides absorbing reading.

W. J. Roberts
Illinois Natural History Survey

UNDER THE FLAG OF THE NATION: DIARIES AND LETTERS OF A YANKEE VOLUNTEER IN THE CIVIL WAR
Edited by Otto F. Bond. (Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society: Columbus, 1961. Pp. 308. $5.00.)

This work is one more among the many compilations of the diaries and letters of Civil War soldiers. Owen Johnston Hopkins was a seventeen-year-old youth who enlisted as a private in Company K, Forty-second Regiment of Ohio Infantry Volunteers on September 25, 1861, at Bellefontaine, Ohio. He served his three years in the Forty-second and was mustered out as a quartermaster sergeant October 14, 1864. Hopkins then received a commission as a first lieutenant and quartermaster of the 182nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment and was mustered out of the service in July, 1865.

Two diaries and numerous letters were written by soldier Hopkins during his years in the Union Army and were edited by him in 1869, and so, as editor Bond states in the preface, further editing was held to a minimum. The reviewer feels he would have liked to know Private Hopkins. The entries are full of humorous comments on soldiering in general and the vicissitudes of life among foot soldiers in particular. A description of the green troops scrounging food in the Cumberland Gap campaign of 1861 ("the reign of terror amongst the feathered tribe") and of the regimental commander's stern lecture on the subject makes amusing reading. The com-

mander, incidentally, was Colonel James A. Garfield.

Private Hopkins had the enlisted man's usual attitude toward rank and regulations. Hopkins's descriptions of the campaigns in which he served are excellent. He relates in detail the action during the Cumberland Gap campaign and the entire siege and victory at Vicksburg.

The remainder of the book is somewhat disappointing to the reader. Sergeant Hopkins spent the rest of the war guarding the Mississippi River and its tributaries and serving as a quartermaster. On the side he conducted a touching and successful courtship by mail; so one doubts if he regretted the absence of combat.

The reviewer believes that much of the latter portions of the book could have been edited out. A reader feels the climax was reached with victory at Vicksburg and the rest is anticlimax. Editor Bond (an emeritus professor of French at the University of Chicago) felt otherwise, however, and did an excellent job. A further and very understandable element is involved here — Bond's wife was the youngest daughter of soldier Hopkins.

L. M. Hamand
Eastern Illinois University

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN HAY, 1838-1905: A COMMEMORATIVE CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION SHOWN AT THE JOHN HAY LIBRARY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY IN HONOR OF THE CENTENNIAL OF HIS GRADUATION AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1858

Published by the Brown University Library. Introduction by Barnaby C. Keeney and Preface by David A. Jonah. (Brown University Press: Providence, R.I., 1961. Pp. xii, 51. $2.00.)

Gardeners, fishermen, hi-fi enthusiasts, bibliophiles, and young children do not need to be told of the merits of catalogs, for most of them are catalog addicts. The uninitiated, however, will be pleasantly surprised with this small book. As the title indicates, the catalog describes only those items on exhibit at the John Hay Library in 1958, and so is actually more a souvenir than a descriptive guide to the vast collection of Hay manuscripts in the Library. Yet this is quite enough, for the book succeeds, as the exhibit itself must have done even more forcefully, in presenting a vivid portrait of Hay.

Typical of Hay's letters was one he wrote from Warsaw, Illinois, in 1859 about the response to a lecture he had made to the Warsaw Literary Institute: "It has had one effect, at least. It has convinced my very pious friends

in this place that there is no sphere of life for me, but the pulpit. I have been repeatedly told by lawyers here that I will never make my life by pettifogging. . . . but I think, if my manifest destiny is to starve, I prefer to do it in a position where I will have only myself to blame for it. I would not do for a Methodist preacher for I am a poor horseman. I would not suit the Baptists for I dislike cold water. I would fail as an Episcopalian for I am no ladies' man."

Not long after writing this letter, Hay went to Springfield to study law in the office of his uncle, Milton Hay. He worked hard for the Republican Party in the election of 1860, and, at the suggestion of John George Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary during the campaign, Hay was taken to Washington to assist Nicolay. This was the beginning of a distinguished public career, about which most Illinoisans know far too little. Hay is better known in this state, of course, for the biography of Lincoln which he wrote with Nicolay and for his poetry.

Hay was a brilliant and talented public servant as well as a warm and sensitive friend and family man. All of these attributes are revealed in the manuscripts chosen with great perception by John R. Turner Ettlinger for the commemorative exhibit. The exhibit catalog, in turn, is a delightful introduction to John Hay.

E.W.

THE CONFEDERACY

By Charles P. Roland. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1960. Pp. xiii, 218. $3.95.)

In the midst of the current wave of Civil War books it is comforting to find a vigorous little volume such as this one which the average reader can scan and digest almost at one sitting.

From the Editor's Preface to the final pages, including brief sections of "Important Dates" and "Suggested Readings," the death knell of the Confederacy is sounded. It is true that there are pages which depict, colorfully, the triumphant spirit of the South, notably after Fort Sumter when the youth, the "old men," and, of course, the "Fire Eaters" jovially proclaimed that one secessionist could lick five Yankees and that the Yankees, after all, would never fight. But the vast differences in population, in immigration, in manufacturing, and in resources were ill winds blowing upon the hasty tempers of the belligerent Southerners.

The reader will like the crisp, definite manner in which the author portrays the ebbing strength of the South — the closing of the

ports, one by one, the vastly superior manpower and the sinews of war which the North was able to mobilize as the conflict progressed. Here, in approximately two hundred pages, is history that a busy reader can enjoy. The list of "Important Dates" is elementary to a Civil War student. Yet, for immediate reference, just when were Shiloh and Chancellorsville fought, when did Grant assume command of all Union armies, and when did Lee become general-in-chief of the Confederate forces? The "Suggested Readings" will lure the amateur on and on — seemingly forever — into Civil War literature. I am certain that all readers will appreciate, as I did, the complete index and the four maps at the front of the book showing the shrinking area of the Confederacy at the close of each year of the war.

C. C. Burford
Urbana

LINCOLN FOR THE AGES

Edited by Ralph G. Newman. (Doubleday and Company, Inc.: Garden City, N.Y., 1960. Pp. 519. $5.95.)

"Lincoln from A to Z" might well be the subtitle of this work, for the editor and his seventy-five associates have done a masterful job of depicting Abraham Lincoln in almost every conceivable pose: lawyer, legislator, president, father, and artistic and dramatic subject.

These pictures do not appear as finished oil portraits but as penciled sketches. Some repetition of information and interpretation is inevitable in a work of this size, and depth is impossible. Yet most of the authors provide unique insights into that apparently fathomless subject. We have the man portrayed by sculptors, dramatists, editors, and scriptwriters, as well as by archivists, historians, and politicians. Each has his own view of Lincoln, a view which can come only with expertise in one field. Particularly noteworthy are articles by Paul Angle (Lincoln in New Salem), Willard King (Lincoln the Lawyer), Avard Fairbanks (The Face of Lincoln), T. Harry Williams (Lincoln and the Committee on the Conduct of the War), Bruce Catton (President Lincoln and General McClellan), E. B. Long (President Lincoln and General Grant), and Dore Schary (Lincoln as a Dramatic Subject). Of especial value is a suggested basic Lincoln library.

After reading this volume many, including this reviewer, will follow Mr. Lincoln's advice to "get the books, and read, and study them carefully."

Bernard Wax

News and Comment

Spring Tour Launches Civil War Observances

Illinois' five-year observances of the centennial of the Civil War were officially launched in Cairo on April 22 and 23.

Governor Otto Kerner, the Illinois State Historical Society, the Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois, the Cairo Historical Association, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Sons of the Union Veterans, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and several other civic and patriotic organizations took part in a variety of programs that marked the occasion.

Actually, coincidence and cooperation made the event a combination of the annual celebration of Loyalty Day, sponsored for the past four years by the Cairo VFW and Chamber of Commerce, and an observance of the anniversary of the arrival of the first Union troops at Cairo (April 22, 1861), which was planned by the State Historical Society and the Civil War Centennial Commission. The two events were combined and then expanded to include the activities of the other organizations.

The entire program was carried out in windy, warm spring weather while the rest of the state and the surrounding Midwest were being treated to heavy rains, hail, thunderstorms, and several damaging tornadoes. Cairo had a few light showers Friday evening and a heavy thunderstorm at 8 A.M. Saturday, but by 9:30 A.M. the sun had come out and there was no more rain until Sunday evening.

Members of the Historical Society who arrived Friday were given a candlelighted reception that night at Magnolia Manor, the Victorian mansion-museum of the Cairo Historical Association. Although they noted many additions to the Manor's collections, the visitors were most interested in the basement kitchen, which had been opened since the last meeting of the Historical Society in Cairo in 1958. Focal point of this room was a six-foot-high bricked-in coal-wood stove with four ovens and a variety of dampers.

The Saturday tour which began at 10:10 A.M. was made in five school buses followed by twenty-five or more automobiles. Local guides in each of the buses pointed out sites of interest along the route, which led north past the old Customs House, the Post Office and Federal Courts Building, the Safford Library, and the Alexander County Courthouse. Two locations that seemed to intrigue

the guides even more than the visitors were "the house where Peter Lind Hayes lived and the place where he went to school."

First stop on the tour was made at the Mound City National Cemetery, where a brief commemorative ceremony was held in honor of the Union and Confederate dead buried there. The speaker was Charles E. Kinney, of Newark, New Jersey, national inspector general of the VFW. The Southern Illinois University Chorus, under the direction of Robert Hines, sang "Offertorium" and "My Shepherd Will Supply My Need." The ceremony was closed with the firing of a salute and the sounding of taps.

At Mound City the group was ushered into the century-old three-story brick shell of a building at the edge of the levee that served as a hospital during the Civil War and is now a canning factory during the harvest season. There, standing on an improvised platform of packing crates, Mother Kathryn Marie, of South Bend, Indiana, presented the story of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, of which she is the Superior General. This order was in charge of the Mound City hospital during the Civil War (St. Mary's Hospital in Cairo, one of ten it now administers throughout the country, was the first established by the order).

After a brief inspection of the onetime hospital building the group walked about two blocks west along a railroad siding to the Route 37 crossing, and there Mother Kathryn Marie unveiled the Historical Society marker commemorating the Civil War hospital. At this ceremony a group of six girls known as the Centennial Choraliers gave a reading in unison of the "The Story of Sister Fidelis," a nurse who died while on duty at the hospital during the flood of 1862.

The visitors were served luncheon at the Mound City Methodist and Congregational churches, which are across the street from each other and two blocks from the marker.

The return route led past the site of the Mound City Marine Ways, where James Eads supervised the construction of more than a hundred gunboats for the Union during the Civil War. A part of the trip was made over the one-way sand-and-gravel road atop the Ohio River levee. After re-entering Cairo the caravan passed St. Mary's Park, Lansden Park, the high schools, and the new Cairo Point—Fort Defiance State Park before returning to the Cairo Hotel.

The Historical Society had scheduled no program for the remainder of the afternoon so that the members could watch the Cairo Loyalty Day parade, see the Civil War exhibits at the Safford Library and the Robert R. McCormick Historymobile, and attend the dedication of the Mary

Photo by Guyla Moreland, Cairo

At the unveiling of the Historical Society marker commemorating the Civil War hospital at Mound City were, left to right, Oscar Edwards, mayor of Mound City; Mother Kathryn Marie, Superior General of the Sisters of the Holy Cross; and her associates in the order, Mother M. Verda Clare, Sister M. John Francis, and Sister M. Micheleen.

J. Safford plaque at the Library. This plaque, on a Missouri red granite boulder, honors "Cairo's Angel" for her work in organizing "camp and hospital relief" during the Civil War. The dedication was made by the Egyptian Chapter, DAR, which erected the memorial.

Governor Kerner reviewed the Loyalty Day parade from a stand in front of the George Gray Barnard statue, "The Hewer," in Halliday Park on Washington Avenue. The parade itself consisted of more than fifty units including nine bands. There were floats and marching organizations, numerous queens, clown cars, and model-T's, plus a minimum of commercial advertising. Most of the paraders were from the surrounding area of Illinois, but there were several units from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. They required slightly more than an hour to pass the reviewing stand.

Since reservations for the Historical Society's spring banquet Saturday evening exceeded the capacity of the hotel's dining

room, the affair was held across the street in the Masonic Temple. The room there also proved too small, and a group of legislators and their wives decided to dine together at the hotel; another group, members of the Cairo Historical Association, gave up their seats as well.

Historical Society President Glenn H. Seymour of Charleston presided at the banquet and introduced Governor Kerner, who, in a brief address, congratulated the city of Cairo and the various organizations involved on an auspicious beginning of the state's observance of the Civil War Centennial. The Governor and the group of legislators then left the hall to attend the VFW's Pageant of Drums program at Schultz Field, which is at the north edge of Cairo.

The Society's banquet speaker was Bell I. Wiley, professor of history at Emory University, Georgia, Civil War author, and member of the national Civil War Centennial Commission. Although the title of his talk was programmed as "The Common Soldier of the Civil War," Dr. Wiley devoted most of his time to humorous excerpts from the thirty thousand soldiers' letters he has read in the course of his Civil War research. This greatly pleased his listeners, and when he closed by reading a heroic letter from a mortally wounded soldier, his audience gave him what, in Civil War days, would have been called a "resounding ovation."

Cairo residents and visitors within earshot of the Ohio River levee were awakened Sunday morning by the calliope and triple whistle of the excursion steamer *Avalon*. The day's outing began at 10:25 A.M. when the boat cast off from the Tenth Street landing and headed downstream toward Columbus, Kentucky. At the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi the *Avalon* drifted to a near stop for a memorial service honoring the Civil War dead on both sides. Charles A. Brady, Jr., of Chicago, state commander of the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, gave a brief talk on the significance of the war and then tossed a wreath over the port bow while a squad from the Cairo National Guard unit fired a salute.

On the trip the passengers amused themselves by inspecting the boat, watching the paddlewheel go around, speculating on landmarks, and dancing to the strains of the *Avalon's* seven-piece Dixieland band. At Columbus the excursion boat was tied up just above the ferry landing, where school buses were waiting to take the group to the Columbus-Belmont State Park at the top of the bluff.

At the park the visitors saw Confederate trenches and a restored redoubt. Nearby were an anchor and part of a six-ton chain which was strung across the Mis-

sissippi during the Civil War to keep Northern vessels from passing up or down the river. The park has a small museum — a two-story seven-room frame house that served during the Civil War as a Confederate hospital. In addition to Civil War small arms and supplies the museum contains a variety of household articles of a century ago, plus an exhibit of Indian relics.

The story of the Battle of Belmont, which took place on November 7, 1861, across the river from Columbus, was told by Clyde C. Walton, Executive Director of the Historical Society. His loudspeaker system was set up at a lookout point from which much of the battlefield could be seen.

By the time he finished his talk the box lunches (supplied by the Cairo VFW) had arrived, but as they were being distributed the buses drew up and the call went out that the boat was ready to leave. Most of the group carried their lunches back to the boat and ate there. The return trip to Cairo was much the same as the one downstream but took about twice as long — it was 6:30 P.M. when the *Avalon* docked, ending the 1961 Spring Tour of the Historical Society.

Spring Tour Notes: Miss Virginia B. Herbert, a director of the State Historical Society, as chairman of the local arrangements committee for the 1961 Spring Tour, even excelled the record for southern Illinois hospitality she established with the Spring Tour of 1958.

Illinois legislators introduced by Representative Clyde L. Choate of Anna at the Saturday banquet included Congressman Kenneth J. Gray of West Frankfort; State Senators William L. Grindle of Herrin, James W. Gray of Belleville, Gordon E. Kerr of Brookport, and James O. Monroe of Collinsville; and State Representatives James D. Halloway of Sparta, Corneal A. Davis and Charles F. Armstrong of Chicago, and Ralph E. Stephenson of Moline.

The *Avalon* took two hours and twenty-five minutes to go from Cairo to Columbus (twenty-five minutes of that time was spent in docking). It required three hours and forty-five minutes for the return trip. The departure times were 10:25 A.M. and 2:45 P.M. Commander Brady's centennial wreath hit the water at 10:45 A.M., and the boat passed it on the return trip at 3:20 P.M. Now, children, assuming the distance from Cairo to Columbus to be twenty miles, how fast was the Mississippi flowing that Sunday, April 23?

The picture on the front cover of this *Journal* shows Commander Brady preparing to toss the centennial wreath into the water at

Cairo's Civil War widow, Mrs. Annie J. Gates, placed flowers on the grave of her husband in the Mound City National Cemetery during the ceremonies there on April 22.

Photo by Guyla Moreland, Cairo

the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi. In the upper right-hand corner is Cairo Point. The photograph was taken by Harry Read, city editor of the *Charleston Courier.*

Two members of the Illinois Civil War Centennial Commission, Newton C. Farr of Chicago and Senator James O. Monroe of Collinsville, sang a harmonious duet arrangement of "My Wild Irish Rose" accompanied by the *Avalon's* calliope on the trip to Columbus — they knew all of the words, too. Incidentally, the ten members of the commission attended some or all of the Cairo observances. The other members are George P. Johns, Decatur; Representatives Stephenson and Armstrong; Mrs. John S. Gilster, Chester; Wasson W. Lawrence, Fairfield; Robert E. Miller, Jr., Springfield; Ralph G. Newman, Chicago; and Executive Director Walton.

Facsimile reproductions of the August 22, 1861, issue of the *Mound City Gazette* containing a story of the first Battle of Bull Run were sold as souvenirs in Mound City and Cairo. This was Vol. I, No. 2 of the *Gazette,* a four-page, five-column tabloid newspaper, which was discontinued after being published for about a year. . . . Another souvenir collected by many of the visitors was a ten-by-thirteen-inch place mat that was a copy of a drawing from *Harper's Weekly,* February 1, 1862, with the caption "Em-barkation of General M'Clern-

and's Brigade at Cairo." The mats were published by the Security National Bank of Cairo. . . . The face of the ticket used for the *Avalon* trip was a facsimile of a Civil War military pass issued by the "Office of Provost Marshal, Camp Cairo." . . . The wooden boxes used for the lunches Sunday were labeled "hardtack" and also became collectors' items, particularly for the small fry.

When the *Avalon* reached midstream after leaving Columbus, a half-filled school bus arrived at the shore with its horn blowing frantically. The passengers who poured out of the bus waved wildly and shouted, "Come back! Come back!" They had missed the boat, but as it turned out, five of them were better off where they were. Bernard Wax, field representative for the Historical Library and trouble-shooter for the Historical Society, commandeered the bus and took them back to Cairo, where the five caught their train for Chicago, which they could not have done if they had been on the boat. Incidentally, there were 570 passengers aboard the *Avalon* on the trip to Columbus, and 257 were members of the Historical Society.

Dr. Andy Hall of Mt. Vernon, at ninety-six, was probably the oldest Society member on the Spring Tour.

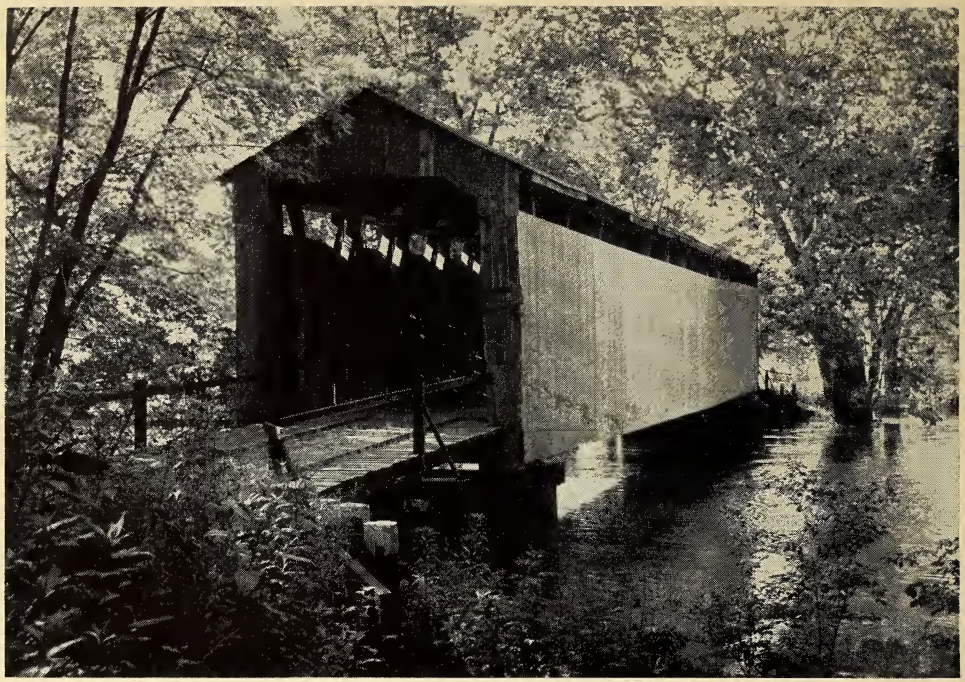
Guides on the eighteen-mile bus tour Saturday were Walter Gates, David Lansden, Eugene Gilhofer, Lester Weber, and Ralph Gibson.

Cairo has at least one Civil War widow still living. She is sixty-eight-year-old Mrs. Annie J. Gates, whose husband was William Gates. She attended the services at the Mound City Cemetery.

Some of the nicest people on the *Avalon* Sunday wore name badges proclaiming, "I am a Randolph County Rowdy." Ebers R. Schweizer, a director of the State Society, recruited a busload of Randolph Countians for the outing. They left Sparta at 7 A.M. and it was well after 9 P.M. before they returned, as the Campfire Girls used to say, "tired but happy."

Illinois' Forgotten Covered Bridges

In a state whose rich historical heritage is well chronicled from the days of the explorers, the dearth of information on the region's covered bridges is surprising. During the heyday of the covered bridge — the decade 1890-1900 — there were an estimated two hundred such structures in Illinois. Although records of many of the bridges are hard to find, memories of most of them



This Kaskaskia River bridge near Cowden in Shelby County is one of nine covered bridges remaining in Illinois. Located on a narrow, winding, little-used trail in rugged hill country, it is probably the most picturesque bridge in the state.

still linger in the minds of Illinoisans in the seventy- to ninety-year-old age bracket.

Since the publication last year of my *Covered Bridges in Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin* (See Spring, 1961, *Journal,* pages 98-99), which dealt largely with the bridges still in use, many of these elder citizens have provided me with information not heretofore recorded about bridges that are no longer in existence, most of them having been razed early in this century.

Typical of comments from old settlers is one from an Evanston reader, seventy-six years old, who writes: "My interest in covered bridges goes back to 1901 when at the age of 16 I dismantled one, the Joe Miller bridge, 105 feet long across north fork of the Sangamon river ten miles east of Springfield. While so doing an elderly man of the community told me it had been there about seventy years, thus close to the date of Mr. Lincoln's first trip past the spot to Springfield."

The heaviest concentration of covered bridges in Illinois was in the Spoon and Sangamon River valleys in central Illinois, with a slight edge to the former in actual count. Today, however, only two covered bridges remain in the Spoon River Valley: the Wolfe

The Rock River covered railroad bridge linking Sterling and Rock Falls — as recreated by an artist from an old photograph. It is believed to have been the longest covered bridge entirely within Illinois, although the one connecting Keokuk, Iowa, and Hamilton, Illinois, was longer.

bridge near Gilson and Douglas, which spans the river in Knox County, and the Greenbush span, in Warren County, which crosses Swan Creek, a tributary to Spoon River. George Willard, now eighty-three years old, who lives near Avon, in Warren County, sat on the banks of Swan Creek in 1890 and watched a crew of men build the Greenbush bridge, one of the last of its kind erected in the state. Willard has also told the author of three other covered bridges that once stood in Warren County.

Northern Illinois as a whole had few covered bridges, but recent letters from Rockford have told of two covered railroad spans over the Rock River; and a reader in Sterling has sent several pictures of the old Sterling–Rock Falls railroad bridge, which burned in 1923 as it was being dismantled.

From such reports as these the threads of a fascinating chapter of Illinois history are being pieced together. *Journal* readers who have knowledge of the location of covered bridges that once existed in the state — particularly in southern Illinois — are urged to contact the author, in care of the Swanson Publishing Company, Post Office Box 334, Moline, Illinois.

Leslie C. Swanson

Douglas Honored on Centennial of Great Speech

Stephen A. Douglas was honored by two programs at the Old Illinois State Capitol — the present Sangamon County Courthouse — on April 25, the centennial of one of the greatest speeches of his ca-

reer, his famous "Protect the Flag" address. Principal speakers on both occasions were Governor Otto Kerner and Robert Dick Douglas, Jr., great-grandson of the Little Giant.

The first of these programs was officially a joint session of the Seventy-second General Assembly and was held in the Sangamon County Circuit courtroom, the Hall of Representatives of 1861. Presiding officer of the session was Paul Powell, Speaker of the House. It was attended by an overflow audience of legislators, county and city officials, and the public. The main floor was entirely filled, but the balcony was only about two-thirds full, the number that is now considered structurally safe.

The guests were welcomed on behalf of the city of Springfield by Mayor Lester E. Collins and for Sangamon County by Loren E. Sullivan, chairman of the board of supervisors.

Dr. Glenn H. Seymour, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, then read a slightly abbreviated version of Douglas's immortal speech. Dr. Seymour is head of the social studies department at Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, where he has taken the part of Douglas in a number of theatrical productions.

Robert Douglas was introduced by Frank R. Sullivan, chairman of the Springfield Historical Monuments Commission. Douglas, whose home is Greensboro, North Carolina, is a lawyer, explorer, and author. Although he is several inches taller, he strongly resembles the pictures of his famous forebear, and when he began talking, his audience soon realized that he had inherited more than a pictorial resemblance. He spoke with a slight drawl and told the story of the present-day Douglas family with a simplicity and humor that carried his listeners along with him much as the Little Giant must have done with more serious subjects a century earlier. Several times he was interrupted by applause for a telling sally.

One of his anecdotes concerned a tour of Illinois with his small daughter. Everywhere they went there were "Lincoln and Douglas" hotels, parks, motels, and theaters. Finally the little girl asked, "Why aren't there any Douglas and Lincoln parks, daddy?"

In his talk, which was based upon the Stephen A. Douglas speech, Governor Kerner cited several parallels between the perils of a hundred years ago and the present.

Following this program most of the group adjourned to the south entrance of the old courthouse, where Douglas unveiled a plaque honoring his great-grandfather's speech. The wording on this large bronze marker, on the pillar at the west of the door, reads, "Stephen A. Douglas/ In this old capitol on April 25, 1861, Senator

Douglas delivered his 'Protect the Flag' speech, one of the most heroic and effective speeches in the English language. His plea helped save our country and was the culmination of his great career."

At this ceremony Springfield Attorney S. Phil Hutchison, who plays the part of Douglas in the Abe Lincoln Players' presentations, recited the "Protect the Flag" speech. State legislators from the district were also introduced; they are Senator George Drach and Representatives George Coutrakon, G. William Horsley, and Allen T. Lucas.

Four New Historical Societies Formed

Organization of four new local historical societies — in Fulton, Richland, Sangamon, and Vermilion counties — was begun or well on the way to completion by the end of April.

The Sangamon County group held its preliminary organization meeting on April 25 in connection with the centennial of Stephen A. Douglas's "Protect the Flag" speech. The meeting was held in the circuit courtroom of the county courthouse, where Senator Douglas addressed the Illinois legislature one hundred years ago. Principal speaker at the evening's program was Dr. Glenn H. Seymour, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, who talked on the life of Douglas.

Bernard Wax, field representative of the State Historical Library, discussed the procedures and policies of organizing a local society at a business meeting which preceded Seymour's address. Former Judge Benjamin S. DeBoice was appointed temporary chairman by Frank R. Sullivan, head of the Springfield Historical Monuments Commission, which initiated the organization meeting. DeBoice also heads the nominating committee, whose members are Robert Stephens, Edward Pree, Charles Trimble, Herbert Georg, Mrs. Mary Woodward, Dr. Emmet Pearson, Mrs. Ernest East, John Chapin, Herbert Croft, Carroll Hall, and Mrs. Mary Minniear.

The preservation of a historical landmark was the basic motivation for the organization of the Richland County Society. That landmark is the old Wilson mansion in Olney, which the Society plans to buy and maintain. The first officers of the group are Harold Drew, president; the Rev. Earl C. Zetsche, vice-president; Mrs. Jane Montgomery, recording secretary; Waldorf Eyman, treasurer; and Miss Lillian Coleman, corresponding secretary.

Dr. Seymour spoke at the Society's April 28 meeting.

The Fulton County Society is

technically not a new society but a reorganized one. Plans for incorporating and drawing up a new constitution were made at a meeting in Canton on March 22, at which Field Representative Wax was the principal speaker. An executive committee, composed of Miss Dorothea Nelson, Albert Scott, and Fred Hand, was appointed to proceed with organizational details. Mrs. Kathryn Randolph presided.

The Vermilion County organization — the second historical society in the county — is to be known as the Vermilion County Historical Museum Society. As the name indicates, its primary function will be the establishment of a historical museum in Danville. At the present time the Society is considering the purchase of the Dr. William E. Fithian home, now owned by Mrs. Joseph Barnhart, for the museum. Until formal organization, the Museum Society will be operated by a steering committee consisting of C. A. Unger, chairman, Charles Haggerty, and Frank Brittingham, all of Danville; Don Prillaman, Rossville; Charles Goodwin-Perkins, Hoopeston; Art Renfer, Oakwood; and Mrs. A. James Stevenson, Carroll Township.

Local Societies Mark Civil War Centennial

The response of Mercer County to President Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of April 15, 1861, at the opening of the Civil War was discussed by the Rev. V. V. Wortmann at the March 7 program of the Mercer County Historical Society.

The Essley-Noble Museum of the Society is now showing exhibits related to the Civil War and its effect on the county. Original letters, books published during the war, regimental histories, a county "draft list," and muster rolls are on display.

The Batavia Historical Society also sponsored a recent exhibit that was Civil War—oriented. Since the Society does not have a museum, its colorful displays were arranged in an art shop called "The Frame." Visitors at the exhibit reported that it was imaginatively staged — with hangings of vivid wallpaper separating the various sections. Unusual Civil War objects included the drum used by "the youngest drummer boy in the war" and a banner carried on Sherman's march to the sea. The displays were arranged by Mrs. Clare J. Kruger, Mrs. Elaine Cannon, Mrs. John Pearce, Mrs. R. W. Cowan, and Richard Lewis.

A portion of the Batavia Society's April 16 meeting was also related to the Civil War. It was an original play, "Great-Grandmother's Diary," presented by Miss Lydia Stafney and two stu-

dents, Sue Nelson and Ben Limbaugh. The production was arranged by the Society's Civil War Centennial committee, of which Mrs. Quentin Blewett is chairman. Civil War music was played by an instrumental group under the direction of Elwood Willey. On the day of the meeting the State Society's Robert R. McCormick Historymobile, with its Civil War exhibit, was open to the public in downtown Batavia, and the next day the Historymobile visited the city's schools.

In April the Alton Area Historical Society presented the first of a series of Civil War programs, with a lecture by Dr. P. W. Riddleberger of the Alton Residence Center, Southern Illinois University, on "Lincoln's Fort Sumter Decision." Each of the Society's monthly notices — a 4½ by 6-inch booklet — now includes a brief chronology of the events of one hundred years ago, with a list of the commemorative observances scheduled for that month in 1961.

A concert billed as "Our Johnny Came Marching" was presented April 7 and 8 by the Princeton High School choruses. This program of Civil War music was sponsored by the Bureau County Historical Society. The Society's museum is also showing Civil War exhibits.

The Bureau County Society has an anniversary of its own in 1961; fifty years ago, on November 11, 1911, the Society held its first meeting, which will be commemorated at a special founders' day dinner program this fall.

Three hundred Jefferson County residents attended the April 5 meeting of that county's Historical Society at which Dr. Andy Hall presented a history of the Civil War. The large attendance at the meeting was recognition of the reputation Dr. Hall has achieved as a speaker and raconteur. Also a historian, Dr. Hall had spent three months in research for his talk, in which he emphasized the underlying causes of the war and the conflicts it brought to southern Illinois. Although he had a written manuscript, the 96-year-old physician gave the entire speech from memory — except for a few quotations.

A small rural Baptist church that served as a station in the Underground Railroad was honored by the Madison and St. Clair County historical societies at a special Civil War Centennial program on April 16. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Madison County group at the historic Bethel Baptist Church, located in northern St. Clair County about five miles southeast of Collinsville.

A history of the church as a haven for runaway slaves was given by Mrs. Cleda Zercher, Collinsville, a great-great-granddaughter of James Lemen, who founded the church in 1808. At the close of the formal program,

Miss Fern Lemen, another great-great-granddaughter of the founder, conducted a public tour of the present church building, which replaced the first one in 1840.

The February program of the Peoria Historical Society, on the four allied orders of the Grand Army of the Republic, was the first of that Society's Civil War Centennial observances. The Women's National League, a Civil War relief organization similar to the USO was the subject of a paper presented by George Parker at the April meeting, and at the May dinner meeting State Senator Hudson R. Sours talked on the Civil War service of Peoria area men.

In Randolph County, Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Groff presented the County Historical Society's March program on the subject "The Day the Civil War Began."

At the annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society, Mrs. Reid Horner spoke on the war's centennial, with reference to events in the northwestern part of the state. The Society's museum is keeping a "Civil War Day by Day" bulletin board, with news stories and illustrations of events that took place one hundred years ago each day.

Volk-Lincoln Plaque Dedicated In Chicago

A bronze memorial plaque marking the site of the studio of sculptor Leonard Volk was dedicated in Chicago on Saturday, April 8. The plaque is on the building at the southeast corner of Dearborn and Washington streets, where the Portland Block once stood. In that building Volk cast the famous life mask of Abraham Lincoln in the spring of 1860. The original mask, the only one of Lincoln made from life, was destroyed in the fire of 1871, but many copies are still in existence.

The plaque was commissioned by a Chicago fraternal group, the Northwestern Council 72 of United Commercial Travelers, as part of a civic project. On the day of the dedication, the organization held a luncheon at which State Historian Clyde C. Walton was the main speaker.

Others taking part in the program, which preceded a visit to the marker, included Archie Jones, assistant director of the Chicago Historical Society; Joseph L. Eisendrath, Chicago businessman and authority on the life of Volk; Norman Boothby, dean of the Chicago Art Institute School of Art; and Theodore S. Charrney, chairman of the dedicatory ceremonies.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $3 a year (individual life membership, $50) and institutional dues, $4 a year. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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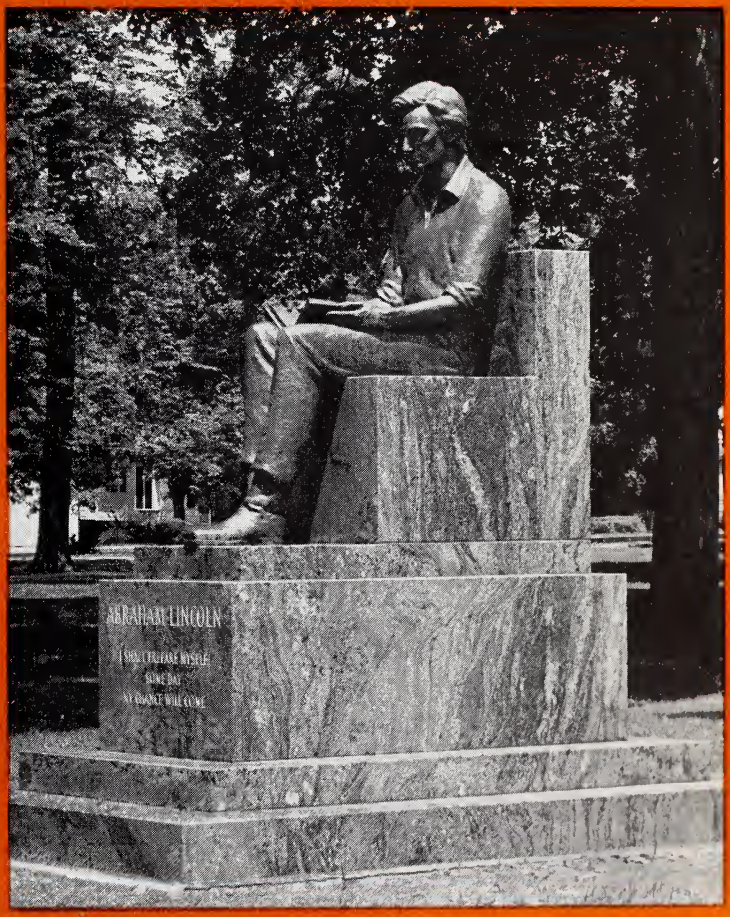

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LE ROY H. FISCHER

Cairo's Civil War Angel, Mary Jane Safford

LeRoy H. Fischer is a professor of history at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, where he has been teaching for the past fifteen years. He is a native of Hoffman, Illinois (seven miles west of Centralia), and received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1943. A member of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, he has had articles published in several historical periodicals. This article is an outgrowth of research on a Mary Jane Safford biography for the three-volume work Notable American Women, 1607-1950, *to be issued by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.*

THE CIVIL WAR came to Cairo, Illinois, in April, 1861, the opening month of that conflict. This southernmost city in the Union sprang into importance because of its strategic location at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and was soon a huge military encampment. Thousands of troops were housed in tents and barrack-type sheds along unimproved streets that often became bottomless quagmires. Sanitation facilities were practically unknown, and before long the fever-ridden camp sites held vast numbers of sick soldiers for whom improvised hospitals could provide only the crudest care. Beds, made of cornhusks or straw, had no sheets and were laid on the bare ground. Medicine and hospital supplies were scarce, and some of the so-called doctors were untrained. Nurses were usually convalescent soldiers, and generally unsatisfactory. Trained male nurses,

the only ones authorized by army regulations, were simply unavailable. The food was the same unpalatable fare prepared by the men on active duty, and was served on unclean tin plates. Throughout the wards filth predominated, and the unbathed patients had nothing to wear but their dirty underclothing. The pungent smell of the sick, of grimy bodies, excrement, and stale food, was all but overpowering. Death came day after day from dysentery, pneumonia, and typhoid, largely because of unsanitary conditions, medical lethargy, or incompetence.[1]

When news of the deplorable conditions in the hospitals of Cairo reached Galesburg, Illinois, the members of its Brick Congregational Church under the leadership of Dr. Edward Beecher (brother of the abolitionist preacher Henry Ward Beecher) decided to act. Several of Galesburg's five hundred men in the Cairo camps had already died of disease. Medical and hospital supplies were gathered together, and Mrs. Mary Ann Bickerdyke, a "botanic physician" with four years of training at Oberlin College and experienced in hospital nursing, was persuaded to accompany them to Cairo and see to their use. Recently widowed and the mother of two small sons, Mrs. Bickerdyke at forty-four was vigorous, brusque, and capable. A person less hardy could not have survived the unhealthful conditions or overcome the army regulations, which at the time prohibited the employment of female nurses.[2]

1. The preceding paragraph is a composite of materials in John M. Lansden, *A History of the City of Cairo, Illinois* (Chicago, 1910), 128-37; Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (*The Centennial History of Illinois,* III, Springfield, 1919), 351-53; Anthony Trollope, *North America* (New York, 1862), 402-6; Agatha Young, *The Women and the Crisis: Women of the North in the Civil War* (New York, 1959), 90-92.

2. Nina Brown Baker, *Cyclone in Calico: The Story of Mary Ann Bickerdyke* (Boston, 1952), 3-11.

Mrs. Mary A. "Mother" Bickerdyke.

Mrs. Bickerdyke reached Cairo in June, 1861, but a remarkable young lady, a Cairo resident, had been assisting daily in the town's military hospitals since they had been opened more than two months earlier. Her name was Mary Jane Safford, and she probably was the first woman in the West to carry on military hospital relief. The two women were different, yet alike. Bickerdyke was large, heavy, with "muscles of iron and nerves of steel," a dynamic personality. Safford was small, frail, refined, retiring, beautiful, and sweetly romantic. Both were patriotic, dedicated, sensitive, self-reliant, kind, tender, unselfish, educated, and proficient. With a common purpose the two women began working together, and a relationship developed that was undoubtedly a most important influence in Mary Safford's life.[3]

Mary had been born twenty-six years before in the tiny Vermont village of Hyde Park, the youngest of five children. She was descended from Thomas Safford, who had emigrated from England in 1630 and was a founder of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. When she was three, her family

3. *Ibid.*, 37-45, 51-52; Young, *Women and the Crisis*, 93-94; *Dictionary of American Biography*, II: 237-38.

moved to Crete, near Chicago, where her parents had bought a farm. Her father died in 1848, and a year later, following the death of her mother, Mary attended school at Bakersfield, Vermont. After her graduation she spent a year studying French near Montreal, then lived in the family of an educated German for the purpose of learning that language. Returning to Illinois, she resided in Joliet, where a brother, Alfred Boardman Safford, twelve years her senior, was in the mercantile business. She soon moved with him to Shawneetown, where she established a school, with her brother advancing the money for the building. She moved, in 1858, again with her brother, to Cairo, where he became a wealthy banker and community benefactor.[4]

The outbreak of the Civil War and the urgent need for hospital relief in Cairo brought Mary a new opportunity for usefulness. Caring for the sick was something of a family tradition, since, as a child, she had been impressed by the demands made upon her mother to attend their ill neighbors in northern Illinois.[5] This background prompted in Mary a desire to comfort the patients by reading them consoling passages from the Bible. The image of the ministering angel of the sick, as portrayed in the poetry and fiction of the day, was a role that many a well-intentioned girl hoped to play. In the East the military hospitals were suffering from a veritable plague of this highly impractical type of hospital help. Cairo, much smaller, had but one angel, and "she

4. The family genealogy is in Edward S. Safford, comp., "The Saffords in America" (typewritten MS, 1923, in Library of Congress). Additional materials are in William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), 56A-56E, and Egbert Cleave, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Homeopathic Physicians and Surgeons* (Philadelphia, 1873), 466.

5. *Ibid.;* Elizabeth B. Sammons, "Mary J. Safford, M. D.," *To-Day,* I (June, 1894): 261.

was just at the threshold of her celestial career when Mary Ann Bickerdyke caught her and brought her down to earth."[6]

Mary was given a tour of the tent-and-shed hospitals by Mrs. Bickerdyke, who pointed out exactly what needed doing and emphasized the hard, unglamorous, and often repulsive labors required to complete the task. After Mary had recovered from the initial shock, she set aside the inhibitions and artificialities of social tradition and settled down to a routine of daily work under the direction of Mrs. Bickerdyke. The older woman – by then known to all the patients as "Mother" – spared her the worst of the work, and did the quantity cooking and the washing of clothing and bedding. Mary's tasks were lighter and included changing bed linens, spoon-feeding the very ill, reading aloud, and writing letters for the illiterate or the unable. This work was pleasant only by comparison with Mrs. Bickerdyke's, for there was no escaping the heat, the cold, the flies, and the overpowering smells. But the two women were wholly co-operative, complementing each other's efforts and bringing a commendable degree of cleanliness, comfort, hope, and cheer where there had been nothing but despair and squalid misery. Mary admired Mrs. Bickerdyke, looked up to her as an ideal, and tried to imitate her. Mary's services, like those of Mrs. Bickerdyke, were unpaid. She was a civilian volunteer, like Clara Barton, Helen Gilson, and Cornelia Hancock, and was never enrolled in the Army Nursing Corps superintended by Dorothea L. Dix.[7]

Despite the occasional opposition of surgeons and officers in charge of the Cairo hospitals, Mary, like Mother Bicker-

6. Baker, *Cyclone in Calico,* 51-52.

7. *Ibid.*; Young, *Women and the Crisis,* 98-99; Mary J. Safford to Frank Moore, Cairo, Ill., Dec. 28, 1866, in New York Historical Society.

dyke, did as she pleased. On her daily visits she carried a memorandum book in one hand and a large basket of delicacies in the other, while a porter followed with an even larger basket. Mary personally prepared sick-diet foods authorized by the patients' physicians, and labeled them with the name of the hospital and the number of the ward and bed. In addition to food, she supplied handiwork items, magazines, newspapers, games, and letter-writing materials. Many of these were purchased with money donated by her brother, although she requisitioned and drew regularly upon supplies shipped to Cairo from the Chicago office of the United States Sanitary Commission, the forerunner of the American Red Cross.[8]

Early in the war an observer writing for a Chicago newspaper graphically told of Mary's contribution to the patients of Cairo's hospitals:

> I cannot close this letter from Cairo without a passing word of one whose name is mentioned by thousands of our soldiers with gratitude and blessing. Miss Mary Safford is . . . devoted to the amelioration of the soldier's lot, and his comfort in the hospitals. . . . Her sweet, young face, full of benevolence, pleasant voice, and winning manner instate her in every one's heart. . . .
>
> Every sick and wounded soldier in Cairo knows and loves her; and as she enters the ward, every pale face brightens at her approach. As she passes along, she inquires of each one how he has passed the night, if he is well supplied with reading matter, and if there is anything she can do for him. All tell her their story frankly — the man old enough to be her father, and the boy of fifteen, who should be out of the army, and home with his mother. One thinks he would like a baked apple if the doctor will allow it — another a rice pudding, such as she can make — a third a

8. L. P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism and Patience* (Philadelphia, 1867), 358-61; Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War: A Woman's Narrative of Four Years Personal Experience* (Hartford, 1888), 206-9; S. Emma E. Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* (Hartford, 1865), 360-62.

tumbler of buttermilk — a fourth wishes nothing, is discouraged, thinks he shall die, and breaks down utterly, in tears, and him she soothes and encourages, till he resolves for her sake, to keep up a good heart, and hold on to life a little longer — a fifth wants her to write to his wife — a sixth is afraid to die, and with him, and for him, her devout spirit wrestles, till light shines through the dark valley — a seventh desires her to sit by him and read, and so on. Every request is attended to, be it ever so trivial. . . . She is performing a noble work . . . in the quietest and most unconscious manner.[9]

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, an organizer and field inspector for the Northwestern (Chicago) Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, was similarly impressed by Mary's accomplishments in working with the patients of Cairo's hospitals:

The effect of her presence was magical. It was like a breath of spring borne into the bare, white-washed rooms — like a burst of sunlight. Every face brightened, and every man who was able, half raised himself from his bed or chair, as in homage, or expectation. It would be difficult to imagine a more cheery vision than her kindly presence, or a sweeter sound than her educated, tender voice, as she moved from bed to bed, speaking to each one. Now she addressed one in German, a blue-eyed boy from Holland — and then she chattered in French to another, made superlatively happy by being addressed in his native tongue.[10]

At no time did Mary happen into a more dramatic and touching hospital situation than when she accompanied Mrs. Livermore on a tour of inspection for the Sanitary Commission. As they entered one of the wards, a tall, well-dressed officer was being brought in on a stretcher, shot in the left side the night before on one of the gunboats at Island Number Ten. After he had been placed on a bed,

9. Quoted in Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War,* 360-61; a less complete and less reliable version of this letter is in Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy,* 360-62.

10. Livermore, *My Story of the War,* 207.

he was asked if he wished anything done for his comfort and recovery. Shaking his head but slightly, he replied, "Too late! too late!" "Have you no friends to whom you wish me to write?" asked Mrs. Livermore. Feebly, the dying man replied, "My wife," as he removed from his uniform pocket her last letter and photograph. Mary then bent low over the officer, bowed her head, folded her hands, and whispered a prayer. Her voice quivered as she prayed for the dying man's wife. At the conclusion he managed an "Amen!" Lifting the photograph, he momentarily but intently gazed at it, pressed it to his lips, and finally grasped it with both hands. In a few minutes he was gone. Then Mrs. Livermore and Mary read the letter from his wife. She had written of the death, on the same day, of their two children, three and five years old.[11]

Following a round of visits, there were always the preparations for the next day. Mary hurried home with her memorandum-book notations and the empty baskets, to begin once more the shopping, purchasing, cooking, packing, and arranging of the items necessary to fulfill the far-ranging and varied requests.

Her popularity grew rapidly. "Oh, Miss Safford!" exclaimed a bright young patient, "you are the good fairy of this hospital! Can't you bring me the invisible seven-leagued boots when you come again, so that I can just step into Milwaukee and see what a certain little woman and her baby are doing?"[12] Another soldier, who recently had been sent from the squalid regimental hospitals of Cairo to the comparatively sumptuous sick accommodations in Mound City, similarly could not restrain himself: "I'm

11. *Ibid.*, 209-14.
12. Quoted in *ibid.*, 208.

Photo courtesy Captain W. H. Trippitt, Hernando, Mississippi

The City of Memphis *of the Memphis & St. Louis Packet Co. was tied up at the bank of the Ohio River just above Fourteenth Street in Cairo when this picture was taken in 1864. Note the two incline cars at the left which were used for carrying freight (and possibly wounded soldiers, also) from the boats up to warehouses on the bank.*

taken care of here a heap better than I was in Cairo; but I'd rather be there than here, for the sake of seeing that little gal that used to come in every day to see us. I tell you what, she's an angel, if there is any."[13] On Christmas Day, 1861, at a time when there were approximately twenty-five regiments quartered in Cairo, Mary visited all the hospital tents and wards and gave each sick soldier a small but useful present.[14] Mother Bickerdyke may have caused Mary to become somewhat more practical in her hospital visits, but even the lady from Galesburg recognized the need for this type of nursing assistance, and wholly approved of the angel reputation the Cairo belle was developing.

13. Quoted in Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War,* 361.

14. *Ibid.,* 358.

Another aspect of Mary's service, however, was probably more appreciated by Mrs. Bickerdyke. When action nineteen miles distant at Belmont, Missouri, in November, 1861, brought boatloads of General U. S. Grant's wounded to Cairo, Mary on her own initiative went to the field of battle to care for those not yet evacuated. While she was attending to them, she was inadvertently fired upon by Confederate forces and improvised a white flag by tying her handkerchief to a stick. She continued to care for the wounded in the chill of a keen wintry wind until the last of the men were removed under her supervision to the hospitals at Cairo, Mound City, and St. Louis. Mary had not planned to go to the battle scene, but while she and Mrs. Bickerdyke were working with the wounded on the Cairo docks, she was impelled by the suffering to make the trip on the first return boat. In the meantime, she had arranged with Cairo friends to house some of the wounded in their extra bedrooms.[15]

With the Belmont crisis behind, Mary settled down to her customary routine of hospital rounds until the following February, when Grant lunged at Fort Donelson — the Confederate stronghold on the Cumberland River in Tennessee — and there won the first important decisive victory for the Union. Mother Bickerdyke, who had accompanied Grant, was working among the maimed and dying in the field hospitals at Donelson when Mary arrived on the Sanitary Commission's hospital steamer, the *City of Memphis,* peacetime queen of the Mississippi passenger boats. The two women worked ceaselessly in the dirt and the freezing cold. But Mary was too sensitive to her surroundings — the

15. Livermore, *My Story of the War,* 215; Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War,* 358; Baker, *Cyclone in Calico,* 62; Young, *Women and the Crisis,* 145.

revolting heaps of human arms and legs (amputation was the surgeon's rule of thumb), the stench and the moans of the sufferers. Mother Bickerdyke watched Mary's appetite fail, noticed her disturbed rest, her troubled face.

Hoping that a change of location would help to ease the tension, she took Mary along on her evacuation trips aboard the *City of Memphis.* Together they worked with the wounded during five trips to the military hospitals at Cairo, Mound City, St. Louis, and Louisville. But the working conditions were actually the same — the undressed wounds, smeared with filth and blood, unattended since the battle several days earlier. Mary became exhausted, for even the lighter work on the hospital ship was too demanding for her rapidly fading strength. She was forced to return to Cairo. When her strength returned, she resumed the less strenuous role of nurse's aid in local military hospitals, while Bickerdyke remained in the field.[16]

In early April, 1862, Shiloh was fought, the severest battle of the war in the West. With little more than a month of part-time rest following her marathon service to the wounded at Fort Donelson, Mary made her way with a supply of medical and hospital provisions to the Cairo wharf. Several hours earlier she had heard of the new, and by Grant unanticipated, action commencing in lower Tennessee at Pittsburg Landing. She boarded the Sanitary Commission's hospital steamer, the *Hazel Dell,* for the trip to the scene of battle. The exchange of greetings with Mother Bickerdyke in a surgeon's hospital tent was warm but brief, and at once Mary commenced helping with the evacuation of the wounded to the *Hazel Dell.* For three weeks she con-

16. Baker, *Cyclone in Calico,* 87-89; Young, *Women and the Crisis,* 151; J. S. Newberry, *The U. S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, during the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1866* (Cleveland, 1871), 30-31.

tinued her round-the-clock ministrations under Bickerdyke's supervision, until the last of the wounded had been removed to the hospitals at Paducah, Cairo, Mound City, and St. Louis.[17]

When a captain of the Fifty-seventh Illinois Infantry told of his experience at Shiloh, he lauded the work of Cairo's Angel:

> God bless Mary Safford! She saved my life. When I was wounded . . . I was carried on board the hospital boat, where she was in attendance. My wound got to bleeding, and, though I was faint from loss of blood, I did not know what was the matter. She found it out, for she slipped in a pool of blood beside my bed, and called a surgeon . . . just in time to save my life. Gracious! how that little woman worked! She was everywhere, doing everything, straightening out affairs, soothing and comforting, and sometimes praying, dressing wounds, cooking and nursing, and keeping the laggards at their work. For herself, she seemed to live on air.
>
> And she had grit, too. . . . They brought Sam Houston's son aboard, wounded, a rebel officer, . . . and ordered one of the privates removed from a comfortable berth he had, to make room for this young traitor. You should have seen Miss Safford! She straightened up, as if she were ten feet tall, and declared, in a grand way, that "the humblest Union soldier should not be removed to make room for a rebel officer, not if that officer were General Lee himself!" She . . . looked so resolute that they were glad to find another berth for Sam Houston's son. I do not wonder that all the boys called her "the Cairo angel!" She was the only one that seemed to know what to do on that boat.[18]

Once the pressure of evacuating Shiloh's wounded was ended, Mary again collapsed. No longer could she carry on even a partial program of hospital visitation. Some months later her brother and the family physician reached

17. Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War,* 163, 358; Baker, *Cyclone in Calico,* 103-4; Young, *Women and the Crisis,* 168.

18. Quoted in Livermore, *My Story of the War,* 214-15. This quotation could not be traced; it is not in William W. Cluett, *History of the 57th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Princeton, Ill., 1886).

the decision that nothing except removal from Cairo could save Mary from more relapses and the danger of possible death. About this time the Saffords heard that former Illinois Governor Joel A. Matteson and his family, friends of the Joliet years, were planning an extended tour and period of residence in Europe. It was arranged that Mary should accompany them. Four years later, eighteen months after the war, Mary returned, refreshed and invigorated.[19]

To her surprise, she found that by this time she was considered a heroine of the hospital relief movement of the war years. Months earlier Frank Moore of New York City, author and editor of more than a score of notable volumes on the Revolution and the Civil War, had sent a letter inviting her to contribute an account of her experiences as a hospital relief worker to his forthcoming *Women of the War; Their Heroism and Self-Sacrifice* (Hartford, 1866). On her return from Europe she replied that she would be glad to oblige, provided she could meet his publication deadline. She did not know then that Moore's book would appear within the month — without her story. But this did not really matter, said Mary, since "my work was so early nipped in the bud by impaired health . . . that it seems scarcely worth the while to mention what I began and others finished."[20]

Neither her modesty nor circumstances, however, were enough to prevent her story from being recorded following the close of the war. More than year before her return from Europe, S. Emma E. Edmonds in *Nurse and Spy in the*

19. Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War,* 359; Cleave, *Biographical Cyclopaedia,* 466; *Chicago Tribune,* July 8, 1864; *Boston Evening Transcript,* Dec. 16, 1891.

20. Safford to Moore, Cairo, Ill., Dec. 28, 1866, New York Historical Society.

Mary J. Safford—this photograph was taken in Dresden, Germany, evidently soon after her arrival in Europe with former Governor Matteson and his family.

Union Army (Hartford, 1865) had reprinted the Angel of Cairo letter about Mary's work from a Chicago newspaper. Miss Edmonds, who had visited Mary in Cairo early in the war, vouched for the letter's accuracy.[21] Mary herself wrote modestly and briefly of her hospital relief work for L. P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan for their *Woman's Work in the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1868), but the authors recast the unassuming account of her contribution and garnished it with a laudatory half-page quotation from Mrs. Mary A. Livermore and the complete Angel of Cairo letter.[22]

All this did not profoundly interest the unostentatious Mary Safford, for her mind was set upon a career in medicine and surgery. Within several months she enrolled in the New York Medical College for Women and was graduated in 1869. She went again to Europe for fifteen months of surgical training in the General Hospital of Vienna. Additional surgery was performed at the University of Breslau,

21. P. 360.
22. Pp. 357-61.

where she was credited with the first ovariotomy performed by a woman.[23]

On her return to America she entered private practice in Chicago as a homeopathic physician, and in 1873, when the Boston University School of Medicine was organized, she joined its faculty as a professor of women's diseases. She simultaneously engaged in private practice and served until declining health forced her retirement in 1886. Soon afterward she moved with her two adopted daughters to the resort town of Tarpon Springs, Florida, where her brother, Anson P. K. Safford, territorial governor of Arizona, 1869-1877, and father of that state's public school system, also resided. In 1872 she had married James Blake, but she never mentioned him and he remained in the background. Their marriage probably ended in divorce in 1880, the year she changed her name back to Safford. During her medical career she lectured and wrote pamphlets on women's clothing, diet, exercise, and hygiene. She also worked vigorously to enlarge professional opportunities for her sex and identified herself with educational and other social reform movements in both Boston and Tarpon Springs.[24]

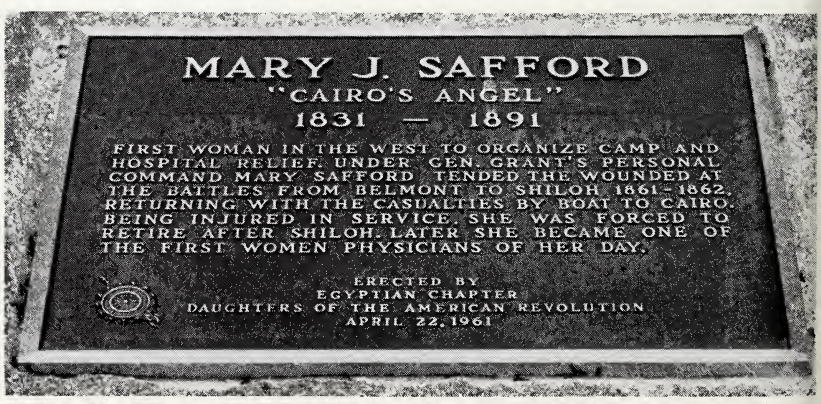
Try as she did, Mary could not forget her war experience and, most of all, Mother Bickerdyke, who by example and counsel had turned Mary's service from the ministrations of an angel of poetry and fiction to the realities of wartime

23. New York Medical College for Women, *Seventh Annual Announcement, 1869-1870*; Cleave, *Biographical Cyclopaedia,* 466; Sammons, "Mary J. Safford, M. D.," 262.

24. Boston University School of Medicine, annual announcements, 1873-1886; Cleave, *Biographical Cyclopaedia,* 466; Sammons, "Mary J. Safford, M. D.," 262; Boston city directories, 1873-1881. Mary Safford's lengthy will, dated June 20, 1884, contains much sentiment and numerous references to friends but makes no mention of her former husband. Probate Court Records, Will Number 88867, Suffolk County, Mass.

Photos by Guyla Moreland, Cairo

Cairo Girl Scouts Mary Jane Dunker, left, and Sharon Althoff unveil the Daughters of the American Revolution plaque honoring Mary J. Safford, "Cairo's Angel." The ceremony took place on the lawn of the Cairo Public Library on April 22 during the 1961 Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society. Also participating in the ceremony were Girl Scout Gail Beadles and Mrs. Harold Bowers of the DAR. Below is a close-up of the plaque.



nursing. When Mary was a medical student in New York City, she became interested in an effort of Horace Greeley, famed editor of the *New York Tribune,* and Henry Ward Beecher, the outspoken social reform preacher of New York, to clean up the vice and squalor of that city. It was Mary who recommended Mrs. Bickerdyke to head the task, and she went to Washington especially to see her about taking the job. Several years later, in turn, it was Mrs. Bickerdyke who asked Mary, by then teaching and practicing medicine in Boston, to help raise several hundred dollars in that city for the relief of distressed farmers in Kansas who were victims of a severe grasshopper plague.[25]

In her own estimation, Mary Safford's professional career was the major contribution of her life. Her Civil War nursing service, she thought, was comparatively brief and consequently unimportant, except that it was the turning point in her life, the factor above all that interested her in medicine and surgery. But today, as a century ago, the public knows her as the Civil War Angel of Cairo.[26]

25. Baker, *Cyclone in Calico,* 228-29, 232-33.

26. On April 22, 1961, a bronze plaque on the lawn of the A. B. Safford Memorial Library (the gift of Mrs. A. B. Safford in 1883), Cairo, was dedicated to Mary Jane Safford to commemorate her Civil War hospital relief activities by the Egyptian Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

Nineteenth-Century Natural History Organizations in Illinois

Walter B. Hendrickson is a professor of history at MacMurray College, Jacksonville. This article is a shortened version of the first chapter of a history of the Illinois State Academy of Science which he is preparing under a grant from the Academy. It is not an official history, however, and the conclusions are those of the author. Professor Hendrickson is also the recipient of a grant from the National Science Foundation for research on urban academies of science founded in the Midwest during the early nineteenth century.

IN ILLINOIS, as in the rest of the country, there was a growing interest in natural history during the 1850's. Everywhere there was emphasis on the development of natural resources such as coal, minerals, and building materials, and to aid in that development the Illinois legislature established a state geological survey in 1851.[1] About the same time a movement to improve agriculture, by then generally recognized as dependent on scientific knowledge, resulted in the organization of state horticultural and agricultural societies. In the rich and rapidly growing city of Chicago an academy of natural sciences was founded in

1. *Laws of Illinois,* 17 G. A., 1 Sess., 154-55; A. R. Crook, *A History of the Illinois State Museum of Natural History* (Springfield, 1907), 7-8; George P. Merrill, ed. and comp., *Contributions to a History of American State Geological and Natural History Surveys* (*Smithsonian Institution Bulletin 109,* Washington, 1920), 64-72; C. W. Rolfe, "Investigations Previous to the Founding of the Present Geological Survey," *Papers Presented to the Quarter Centennial Celebration of the Illinois State Geological Survey* (*Illinois State Geological Survey Bulletin No. 60,* Urbana, 1931), 24-25.

1856 under the leadership of young Robert Kennicott, an enthusiastic collector and student of Illinois wildlife,[2] and in Missouri that year the well-known botanist Dr. George Engelmann was the mainspring in starting the Academy of Science of St. Louis.[3]

In the same era educators were beginning to advocate the teaching of natural science in the schools, not only for practical purposes but also because they believed, as one scientist put it, that an acquaintance with the world of nature would demonstrate "the power and wisdom of the Creator" so "that eventually one could comprehend God's design for the Cosmos."[4]

In this atmosphere the organization of a statewide natural history society was proposed by Cyrus Thomas of Jackson County. Thomas was born in Tennessee in 1825 and educated in the village school and the small academy at Jonesboro. Devoted to natural history from boyhood, he had planned to be a doctor (as were so many of the natural scientists of the time) but never made it to medical school; instead, in 1849, he came to southern Illinois, where he taught school, studied law, and collected insects. In mid-nineteenth century few men made their living as scientists, but many, like Thomas, spent more of their waking hours at it than they did at their bread-and-butter work. Although Thomas practiced law for ten years, he spent ever more time in the serious study of entomology and eventually

2. William K. Higley, *Historical Sketch of the Academy* (Chicago Academy of Sciences, *Special Publication No. 1,* Chicago, 1902), 5-6.

3. Henry M. Whelpley, "A Sketch of the History of the Academy," *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis,* XVI (1906): xxiii-xxiv; Ralph S. Bates, *Scientific Societies in the United States* (2d ed., New York, 1958), 49-52.

4. Proceedings of the Illinois State Teachers' Association, *The Illinois Teacher: Organ of the State Teachers' Association,* IV (1858): 12-13.

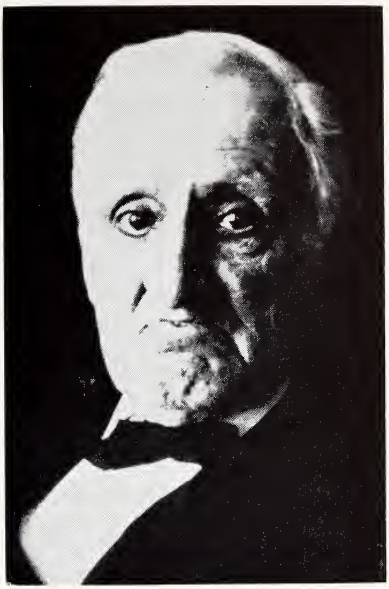
became a professional scientist, serving as state entomologist and professor of natural science at Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale. In his later years he turned to anthropology and did important research for the United States Bureau of Ethnology.[5]

Thomas's proposal for a state natural history society was made in a letter presented to the Illinois Teachers' Association in December, 1857, by Charles E. Hovey, president of the new State Normal University at Bloomington. Thomas wrote that the natural history society should have for its objects (1) the study of the "Flora, Fauna, Geology and Mineralogy of Illinois," (2) the publication of information about natural history, and (3) the founding of a museum. He proposed that the museum be located at the Normal School and that the society hold annual meetings there for the purpose of presenting and discussing scientific papers. The Teachers' Association endorsed the proposal and directed Hovey and Newton Bateman to call an organization meeting.[6]

Thomas's suggestion was in line with the aims of the new agricultural and horticultural societies. As an article in the *Prairie Farmer* pointed out, Illinois farmers had backed the Normal School because it would teach agriculture; and necessary to the teaching of scientific agriculture was a basic knowledge of botany, zoology, and mineralogy, which the legislature had declared should be taught there. Thus the Normal School could train teachers in the natural sciences so that they could give public school children the basic

5. Harlow B. Mills, "From 1858 to 1958," *Illinois Natural History Survey Bulletin,* XXVII (Dec., 1958): 93-94; Walter Hough, "Cyrus Thomas," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVIII: 426.

6. Proceedings of the Illinois State Teachers' Association, 1858, pp. 12, 18; "Illinois Natural History Convention," *Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society . . . 1857-'58,* III (1859): 637-38.



Cyrus Thomas

information necessary for further education in agriculture.[7] An anonymous writer declared in the *Prairie Farmer* that Normal was intended for the farmers, having been thrown to them "like a bone to a dog," because of their "growling for an 'Industrial University.' "[8]

On June 30, 1858, seven months after the presentation of Thomas's proposal, the Illinois Natural History Society was organized in the rooms of the Normal University. Presiding at the organization meeting was Jonathan B. Turner, a former teacher at Illinois College in Jacksonville, who was interested in agriculture and horticulture.[9] With Turner in the chair, President Hovey of Normal stated the reasons

7. *Emery's Journal of Agriculture and The Prairie Farmer,* III (1859): 24-25.

8. *Ibid.,* II (1858): 358; Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857-1957* (Normal, 1956), 3-39. The Industrial University was the institution that Jonathan B. Turner and others had been urging upon both the state legislature and Congress, and it would include the teaching of agriculture in its curriculum. In 1867 their efforts culminated in the creation of Illinois Industrial University, now the University of Illinois, at Urbana.

9. *Ibid.,* 11-26; Mary T. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* (Jacksonville, 1911), 258-59.

for calling the meeting and again read Thomas's statement. A few others spoke, making it clear that the purpose of the proposed organization was "to concentrate and enlarge our researches in the study of the Natural History of the state."[10] Named to draw up a constitution were Charles D. Wilber, instructor of geology at Normal; Daniel Wilkins, principal of the Female Institute at Bloomington; Dr. Frederick Brendel of Peoria, a German Forty-eighter with a European education in medicine and natural science;[11] Charles D. Bragdon, associate editor of the *Prairie Farmer;* and George P. Rex of Pike County.[12]

The document they presented later that day was short and simple. It provided for a president, nine vice-presidents (one from each congressional district — a device adopted from the agricultural and horticultural societies), a treasurer, a secretary, and a general agent. The latter was to "visit the different portions of this and other States; make collections of specimens, attend to exchanges with various societies, establish a system of co-operation and labor to incite a general interest in the study of Natural History." (Although the constitution made no provision for the agent's salary, he was paid by Normal University and given free transportation on the railroads.) Any person might become a member of the Society on the favorable vote of the members and the payment of a $1.00 entrance fee.[13] Unaccount-

10. *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph,* July 1, 1858.

11. Virginius H. Chase, "Frederick Brendel, the Pioneer Botanist of Peoria," *Transactions of the Illinois State Academy of Science,* XXIV (Dec., 1931): 73-79.

12. It has been difficult to find biographical information about many of the men connected with the Natural History Society; not even first names have been determined in many cases. Any substantial biographical source will be cited, but bits of information found incidentally will not be documented.

13. "Illinois Natural History Society: Natural History Convention,"

ably there was no mention of annual dues. The constitution was amended in 1859 to provide a $5.00 entrance fee and $2.00 annual dues thereafter; in 1860 the annual fee was made $1.00.

The nominating committee reported at the evening session, and Turner was elected president; Hovey, secretary; and Wilber, general agent.[14] At the night session, which had been advertised by means of handbills passed around the town, President Turner delivered an address on "Microscopic Insects." He spoke not only from the standpoint of the educator but from that of the practical farmer and orchardist, saying that insects, fungi, and plant diseases were a threat to the nation because they destroyed food and other products of the soil that were required for the continuing growth and prosperity of the nation. He went on to say that scientific knowledge was needed to meet this threat and that there was a great opportunity for young men in the West who would study science, especially entomology, since Illinois needed a "score of the best minds in the country, under some central head, like this society, or the Normal University, provided with the best micro-

Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society . . . 1857-'58, III (1859): 638-39. The proceedings of the Illinois Natural History Society for 1858 and 1859 were printed in Vol. III of Agricultural Society's *Transactions,* pp. 638-85, and the proceedings for 1860, in Vol. IV, pp. 535-675. Charles D. Wilber edited and reprinted the proceedings as *Transactions of the Illinois Natural History Society,* 2d ed., Ser. 1, Vol. I (1861); no other volumes were published. Reports of the meetings of the Natural History Society appeared in *The Illinois Teacher,* IV (1858): 258-59 and VI (1860): 253-62. Fragmentary accounts of the Society's activities are in *Emery's Journal of Agriculture and The Prairie Farmer,* II (1858): 20, 24, 323, 328, 358, 387; III (1859): 90; IV (1860): 20, 36, 52. The *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph* also printed fragmentary accounts July 1, 1858; Dec. 21, 1861; Nov. 16, 1865; June 28, 1866; Dec. 20, 1867; Jan. 10, 1868; Nov. 27, 1869. These accounts have been collated, and unless there is additional information from another source, the Agricultural Society *Transactions* will be cited, as I.N.H.S. Proceedings, *Trans. Ill. State Agric. Soc.*

14. I.N.H.S. Proceedings, *Trans. Ill. State Agric. Soc.,* III: 639.

scopes and other needed apparatus for collecting and examining a cabinet . . . [of] specimens; and the whole country marshaled under them, much as Lieut. [Matthew F.] Maury proposes to organize on the science of meteorology."[15]

At this first meeting in 1858 the Society listened to the reading of two other scientific papers, the first by Dr. Brendel, "Forests and Forest Trees,"[16] and the second by Wilber, "The Corals of Iowa." The second was not printed, but the one by Dr. Brendel marks him as a capable and well-informed scientist. He discussed the utility of forests to man, described the trees found in Illinois, and went into the matter of classification of species, holding that this could be done satisfactorily only by taking into account climate, soil, and other habitat factors. In this view Brendel agreed with the great botanists of the period like Asa Gray and George Engelmann (both of whom Brendel knew), who went into the field as often as they could and always insisted that their collectors submit environmental details with specimens.[17]

The scientific papers presented at the meetings of 1859 and 1860 included the following, dealing with the survey of natural history: "On Meteorology in Connection with Botanical Investigation," by Dr. Brendel; "Orthoptera of Illinois," "Notes on Illinois Insects," and "Mammals of Illinois," all by Cyrus Thomas; "Mosses of Illinois" and "Additions to the Flora of Illinois," by Dr. George Vasey; "Birds of Illinois, Catalogue" and "Taxidermy," by Richard H. Holder; "Geology of a Section of the Rock River

15. *Ibid.*, 643, 644-50; quotation from p. 648.
16. *Ibid.*, 651-61.
17. These conclusions were reached after reading the letters of Engelmann to and from his collectors, and the letters of Gray to Engelmann. These letters are in the Missouri Botanical Gardens, St. Louis, Mo.

Valley," by Dr. Oliver Everett. Then there was a group of papers that dealt with strange and remarkable natural phenomena: "Mastodon Giganteus," by Wilber; "The Water Lily," by Brendel; "The Great Tornado of 1860," by James Shaw; and "Notes on the Great Drouth in '53 and '54," by E. R. Roe.

Others on science education were presented by Thomas, "Plan for a Natural History Survey"; by Turner, "Power, Force and Matter"; and by J. H. Blodgett, "Object Lessons."[18]

The Illinois Natural History Society, founded so auspiciously in 1858, was in existence until 1871, but the years of its greatest activity were from 1858 to 1861.[19] It was quiescent during the Civil War, enjoyed a brief revival from 1866 to 1868, and then faded rapidly. The Society had only one meeting a year, and between meetings its work was directed by the general agent.[20] The first and only man to hold this office was Charles D. Wilber, about whom little biographical information has been found.[21] From his record as general agent, however, it is clear that he had great energy, was a devoted and profoundly religious teacher, and a competent, though not original, scientist and that the early success of the Society was largely due to his hard work and enthusiasm.

Wilber's principal concern was to get the natural history survey of the state underway and to accumulate material for the museum. Since the Society was intimately connected with education, he aimed his appeals at school-

18. See n. 13 above.

19. The Society was chartered by the legislature in 1861. *Private Laws of Illinois,* 25 G. A. 55.

20. The title changed, becoming secretary and then curator.

21. Mills says that Wilber later became a consulting mining engineer. "From 1858 to 1958," 86.

teachers as well as naturalists, and both the *Illinois Teacher*[22] and the *Prairie Farmer*[23] published his detailed instructions for collecting and preserving natural history objects.

In his travels about the state Wilber met with most of the men already engaged in natural history work: Dr. Brendel; Cyrus Thomas; Robert Kennicott; Amos Worthen, the state geologist, and his assistant, J. H. McChesney; E. S. Bond of Henry County and Richard H. Holder of Bloomington, ornithological collectors; and Dr. Vasey of McHenry County, botanist. Others whose specialties are not known were Samuel Bartley, an associate of Thomas's in Jackson County; Judge William H. Snyder of Belleville; Dr. E. R. Roe of Bloomington; and Professor Sheldon and R. G. Oakes of Kane County.[24]

Typical of these men was Dr. George Vasey, of England, who came to the United States as a boy and grew up in New York, where his enthusiasm and talent for natural science attracted the attention of Asa Gray and John Torrey. After earning his M.D. degree, Vasey came west and practiced medicine while he botanized, being especially delighted with the variety of plant life found on the still-virgin prairies of northern Illinois. In all, Dr. Vasey contributed over a thousand specimens to the museum at Normal, before leaving Illinois to serve as a botanist with the Department of Agriculture in Washington.[25]

22. C[harles]. D. W[ilber]., "Directions for the Study of Natural History," *The Illinois Teacher,* V (1859): 186-88.

23. *Emery's Journal of Agriculture and The Prairie Farmer,* II (1858): 387.

24. C. D. Wilber's report on the Illinois Natural History Society to President Hovey, 1858, published in the *Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . for the Years 1857-58* (1859), 409; cited hereafter as Wilber, Report to Hovey, 1858.

25. "George Vasey," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* XXVIII (1893): 401; Wilber, Report to Hovey, 1858, pp. 408-10.

Another leading collector for the Society was Robert Kennicott, then engaged in building a natural history museum at Northwestern University and promoting the Chicago Academy of Sciences. Kennicott was a protégé of Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution and with Baird's encouragement was making his own natural history survey of the state.[26]

At a meeting of the Society in 1860, "commissions" in the various branches of natural history were formed so that men of like interests living in different parts of the state could work together.[27] Wilber also opened negotiations for the exchange of material with the geological surveys of surrounding states and with foreign missionaries and other persons in Europe and Asia.[28]

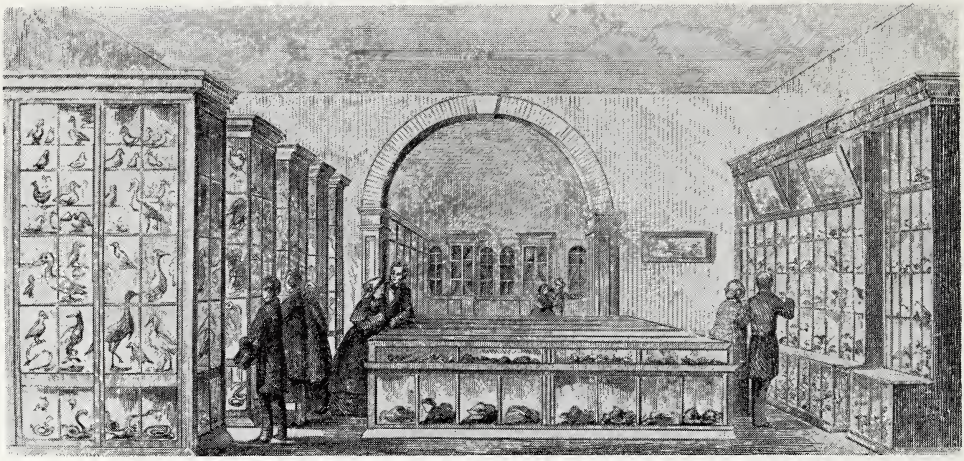
As a result of the volunteer work of these amateur naturalists, sixty thousand specimens then worth an estimated $23,000 had been collected by 1862 and were on display in Society's museum on the third floor of the main building at Normal University. To a modern museum-goer, the natural history museum, like others of the period, would have appeared stiff and formal, because it was simply an ordered display of individual objects — no dioramas, no charts, no plastic mushrooms. Yet its collections were of real significance to the student who could give them the prolonged and detailed study that was impossible in the field; to the public the museum was impressive because of the very bulk of the collections.

Two large halls connected by an archway constituted the

26. James A. James, "Robert Kennicott: Pioneer Illinois Natural Scientist and Arctic Explorer," *Papers in Illinois History . . . 1940* (Springfield, 1941), 22-39.

27. I.N.H.S. Proceedings, *Trans. Ill. State Agric. Soc. . . . 1859-60,* IV (1861): 539.

28. Wilber, Report to Hovey, 1858, p. 409.



The "Museum of Geology and Natural History" of the Illinois Natural History Society in the State Normal University building in Bloomington. This drawing is from the Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society, *Vol. IV (1859-1860).*

museum, which had a high ceiling and a floor space measuring thirty-three by one hundred feet. Holder had made the floor plan and designed the cases after visiting museums in Salem, Massachusetts; Philadelphia; and Boston. A variety of methods was used to display the exhibits. The ornithology department had twelve cases, each four feet by eight feet and ten feet high, made of "pure French glass." The birds, which had been donated by Holder and Bond, were principally those of Illinois. Each specimen was mounted stiffly on its perch, and they were arranged in families on the shelves.

Another dozen plate glass display cases were three feet wide by twelve feet long and about three and a half feet high. On the bottom level of these cases were specimens of coal fossils, many of them too large to be placed on shelves. The space at the top of these cases was eight inches deep and contained carboniferous fossils and shells.

The botany and entomology exhibits were housed in 960 drawers (three inches deep and fifteen by eighteen inches in size), each fitted with a glass cover. Above the cases of

drawers were shelves for other fossils, ores, minerals, and crystals. Both the drawers and shelves were protected by doors.

Another series of exhibits was devoted to what was then called "economical geology" — the various ores and samples taken at each step in their manufacture into finished products. Other features of the museum were the library, which contained scientific works, reports, and papers of the Society, and a series of paintings, by J. E. Bryant of Bloomington, illustrating the great eras of geological time. These were hung around the walls above the cases. Each specimen in the museum was labeled with its scientific name, the place where it had been found, and the name of the donor.[29]

The purpose of the museum, Wilber wrote, was "simply to present a type of all the species of existence in the various kingdoms of nature, ancient and modern, arranged in groups, according to the type or affinity of each group. It is a *human* attempt to represent, as far as possible, the *divine* idea of creation, by a real panorama of objects." He went on to say:

> By the judicious use of this great collection . . . students . . . can obtain a general survey of our material resources, and will learn one important fact at least, that our home facilities for education, by the new or reformed method of object lessons are unequaled. Let the pupil see this fine array of the 'medals of creation' . . . and ask him . . . if the works of God do not impress him with higher conceptions of the wisdom, beneficence and accompanying presence of the great Creator?
>
> Let no one then ask, does Illinois want such a museum? or inquire what good it will do, or what useful purpose it may serve. A few *will* ask these questions. Such persons belong rather to a

29. Wilber, ed., *Trans. Ill. Nat. Hist. Soc., I* (1861): 145-47. The museum was dedicated and opened to the public in Dec., 1861.

past epoch, and may be termed the fossils of society, who are ready to be labeled and laid away.[30]

As he had anticipated, his objectives were questioned, apparently because he became so absorbed in creating a museum for teaching purposes that he neglected the utilitarian functions of the Society in behalf of agriculture. When he reported, for example, that the museum would display objects from Europe and other parts of the world, the *Prairie Farmer* said bluntly that it was more important to have plants of Illinois than shells from the Sandwich Islands, because farmers would not benefit from such strange things.[31] Perhaps it was this criticism that brought Wilber to say, "AGRICULTURE *is* NATURAL HISTORY APPLIED."[32]

Although some additions were made to museum collections during the early days of Civil War, activity had almost stopped by 1862, when Wilber reported to Hovey:

> Hard as the work was, our progress was remarkable until the war broke out, which is death to Science and Art. But even amidst the smoke and carnage of the past eighteen months, we have *added many thousand* specimens to the collection; but the grand work must stop now, for a while at least. There are too few to help — nearly every naturalist is in the army — there is no money, and the future is unpropitious indeed.[33]

Wilber himself left in 1864, and the Society ceased to function.[34]

Not until after the Civil War was there a revival of

30. Wilber, Report to President Hovey, in *Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1861-1862,* pp. 81-83; cited hereafter as Wilber, Second Report to Hovey.

31. *Emery's Journal of Agriculture and The Prairie Farmer,* II (1858): 323, 358.

32. Wilber, ed., *Trans. Ill. Nat. Hist. Soc.,* 4.

33. Wilber, Second Report to Hovey, 83.

34. Stephen A. Forbes, "History of the Former State Natural History Societies of Illinois," *Trans. Ill. State Acad. Sci.,* I (1908): 19. This article was also published in *Science,* XXVI (n.s., 1907): 892-98.

scientific activity in the state. It was brought about then by a forceful newcomer to Illinois science, John Wesley Powell, born in New York in 1834 and educated at Wheaton, Illinois, and Oberlin colleges. As a student at Wheaton he began the study of Illinois natural history on summer exploring trips by rowboat or skiff on the Illinois, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. In 1859 he was enlisted by Wilber in the Society's natural history survey, and in 1860 he was appointed a member of the commission on conchology.[35] After service in the Civil War, Powell went to Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloomington as professor of geology and was soon made professor of natural science. He renewed his interest in the Natural History Society and with other enthusiasts in Bloomington organized a local chapter.[36] The Society's museum had fallen into disrepair since Wilber's departure, and few University students studied science or made use of the museum. The University's policy on the teaching of science in that day was later outlined by David Felmley, who became president of the school in 1900:

> It is a question whether faculty or board [Board of Education, the governing body of the University] were fully persuaded of the real value of these studies. They were postponed to the latter part of the course. Chemistry preceded the others from a belief that it would solve the problems of animal and vegetable physiology. Zoology was put at the end of the senior year; later it was an elective; some years it was not taught at all.[37]

The lack of instruction in science was even more deplorable than Felmley's statement indicates, for only a small number

35. William Culp Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado* (Princeton, N.J., 1951), 3-46.

36. *Ibid.*, 47-79; *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph,* Nov. 16, 1865.

37. David Felmley, "The Development of the Course of Study," in *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University* (n.p., 1907), 57.

of students ever became seniors. For example, out of 506 students who had enrolled in the school between the time it opened in 1857 and the winter term of 1862, only fifty-two completed the three-year course and received diplomas. Actually, most students attended for only one year.[38]

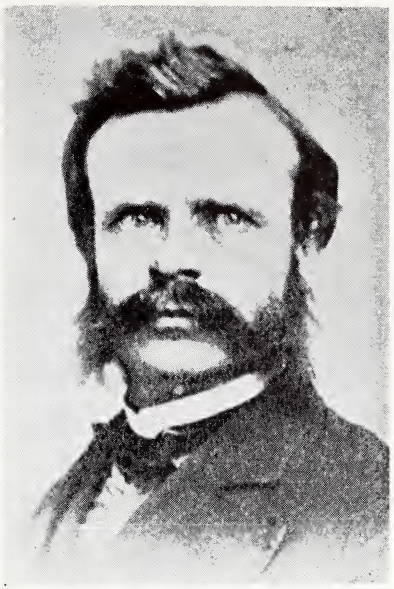
The neglect of the museum by the University alarmed Powell, and at a meeting of the Illinois Natural History Society in June, 1866, he proposed that the Society consult with the Board of Education about obtaining state funds for the support of the museum. Until more permanent arrangements could be made, Dr. Joseph Sewall, professor of natural sciences at Normal,[39] was to have charge of the museum for the Society. Since displays had been disarranged and some things stolen, Sewall was to open the museum to the public only on Fridays, and even then all cases were to be "firmly closed." On Powell's motion a committee was appointed to seek funds from the Board,[40] and Powell himself prepared and signed an appeal that was submitted to the Superintendent of Public Instruction by Normal's president, Richard Edwards. In his statement Powell declared that the objectives of the Society were (1) to promote original research in natural history, (2) to make a natural history survey of the state, (3) to supply Illinois schools and colleges with natural history specimens, and (4) to build and maintain a central museum at Normal.[41] It is clear from this statement that there was no longer any emphasis on the relationship between the study of natural

38. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises,* 95.

39. *Ibid.,* 78.

40. *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph,* June 30, 1866. Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado,* 78, says that Powell was chairman of the committee, but the *Pantagraph* does not name him as a committee member.

41. *Sixth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1865-1866,* p. 233.



John Wesley Powell as he appeared in 1869. Later he grew a full beard, and earlier pictures show him without the mustache but with the whiskers.

science and the improvement of agriculture. The farmers were now promoting an Illinois Industrial University, which would be founded in 1867 at Urbana as an agricultural and mechanical arts school under the 1862 act of Congress establishing state land grant colleges. The state's horticulturists, who had also given the Society support at an earlier time, were working for the appointment of a state entomologist, and this, too, was achieved in 1867.[42]

Thus the Board of Education remained the only possible backer of the Society, and Powell told the Board that the objectives he had stated could be effected only by a full-time general commissioner and curator; without such an officer the work already done would be wasted, and the museum would be of no value to anyone. He estimated that it would cost $2,500 annually to achieve the purposes of the Society – $1,000 for the museum expenses and $1,500 for the salary of the curator – and even then the Society

42. Mills, "From 1858 to 1958," 88-91; F. Garvin Davenport, "Natural Scientists and the Farmers of Illinois, 1865-1900," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* LI (Winter, 1958): 360.

and its members would have to give voluntarily of time and talent to do the field work of the survey. He proposed that the funds be sought from the legislature on the grounds that educational interests would be served and that the people of the whole state would benefit.[43]

The Board of Education approved the plan, and Powell went to Springfield to lobby for the appropriation. The legislature voted the funds, and in March, 1867, Powell was appointed curator by the Board.[44]

From this moment, contrary to all expectations, the Illinois Natural History Society ceased to be an effective agent for the advancement of scientific investigation or science education in Illinois. The Society still owned the natural history objects in the museum and the cases in which they were displayed, and its directors were required by law to be consulted on the appointment of a curator, but the governing body of Normal University, which held the purse strings, did in fact determine who the curator would be and what policies and programs he would carry out in the name of the Society. There is some question, also, of the good faith of John Wesley Powell in working for the legislative appropriation and the job of curator, because he immediately used his position and his influence with the Board of Education to promote his plan to explore the Rocky Mountain region. He argued that the natural history objects gathered there would augment the museum's collections and that duplicates would be distributed to schools and colleges. But the Rocky Mountain specimens, while of great interest, would not teach much about the natural history of Illinois. Fur-

43. Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Sixth Biennial Report,* 233-35; Lindsay G. Morris, "John Wesley Powell, Scientist and Educator" (M.S. thesis, Illinois State Normal University, 1947), 36-39.

44. *Public Laws of Illinois,* 25 G. A., 21.

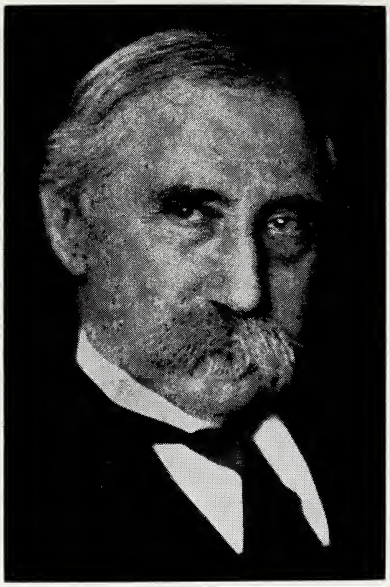
thermore, the expedition would take out of Illinois the students and collectors who undoubtedly would have studied Illinois flora and fauna if they had not been attracted by Powell's glamour and the excitement of exploration in faraway places.

It is not that Powell was dishonest, or that he was not sincerely devoted to science, or that his explorations did not yield important scientific information. He was honest, he was a dedicated scientist, and his contributions to geology, ethnology, and conservation were very great. But the work he carried on in the name of the Illinois Natural History Society had nothing to do with science in Illinois.[45]

During Powell's three trips to the West, in 1867, 1868, and 1869, when he was curator of the Natural History Society museum at Normal, he of course could not work with either the Society or the museum, except in the arrangement of the material brought from the West. It seemed a hopeless situation as far as the few members of the Society were concerned, and in 1869 it was generally agreed that the Society should divest itself of any further responsibility for the museum and go out of existence.[46] The final decision was taken out of the hands of the Society in 1871, when the

45. Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado,* 78-80; Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises,* 118-29. Professor Marshall is very critical of Powell's conduct, conveying the impression that Powell was self-seeking and that he used the Natural History Society and Normal University to promote his own interests. Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado,* 78, and Wallace E. Stegner, *Beyond the Hundreth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (New York, 1954), 18, both admit that Powell sought the job because he was ambitious and saw larger opportunities at Normal. After he got the job, he saw how he could use his position for the advancement both of science and his own scientific reputation. Stegner, *ibid.,* says that Powell was a "politician and promoter . . . superimposed upon the earnest amateur naturalist," but neither Stegner nor Darrah implies that any base ambition was involved. In his Master's thesis on Powell, Morris emphasizes Powell's career as a master teacher and resourceful leader of field trips.

46. *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph,* Nov. 27, 1869.



Stephen A. Forbes

legislature attached to its $2,500 museum appropriation the provision that the Natural History Society should transfer to Normal University its claim to the cases and exhibits. This was done in June, 1871; the Board of Education took legal ownership of the museum;[47] and the Illinois Natural History Society was disbanded.

A second statewide scientific organization, more limited in its objectives than the Illinois Natural History Society, was founded at Normal University two years later. This was the High School and College Association of Natural History, which was established in 1873 and existed until 1875. It was started by Stephen A. Forbes, the curator of the museum at Normal, who took over when Powell was employed by the United States government to make a survey of the western territories. Forbes, born in Illinois in 1844, was an almost self-taught naturalist, although he did have formal education in other fields at Beloit Academy and Rush Medical College. In 1872, after a period of

47. *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1875-1876,* pp. 324-25; Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises,* 128.

school teaching and natural science research, he was named professor of zoology and curator of the museum at Normal. Five years later that museum was made the State Laboratory of Natural History, and Forbes's title was changed to director.[48]

Soon after his arrival at Normal, Forbes found that the museum was not equipped to fulfill all of its obligations, for in 1872 the legislature specified that natural science be taught in the public schools. The museum therefore had to be used not only to train teachers at Normal but also to supply natural history specimens to the schools and to other colleges. But the museum did not have sufficient Illinois material to provide the specimens needed. As a solution Forbes suggested forming a co-operative school and college association, and at the December, 1873, meeting of the State Teachers' Association, the natural history group was formally organized. Each member was to collect objects in his own locality and send them to the museum, where Forbes would arrange them into proper exhibits and redistribute the collections to the participating schools so that each received "a judicious selection from the whole number sent by all."[49]

The scheme had limited success because only a few teachers participated, but Forbes felt that it was worth while since it encouraged teaching from nature and since

48. Forbes became state entomologist in 1882 but continued to head the Laboratory. Both functions were later transferred to the University of Illinois and were combined in 1917 to form the Illinois Natural History Survey, which Forbes headed until his death in 1930. Mills, "From 1858 to 1958," 87-88, 94-98; Crook, *The Illinois State Museum of Natural History,* 11-12.

49. Stephen A. Forbes to President Richard Edwards, Nov. 30, 1874, in the *Tenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1873-1874,* pp. 143-47; quotation from p. 145. A report of the activities of the School and College Association was published in *The Poplar Science Monthly, V* (May-Oct., 1874): 128.

the Association's annual meetings offered teachers an opportunity to discuss their problems. About thirty schools were represented in the Association, and about half of those actually collected material.[50]

Forbes also stimulated natural history study among teachers when, in 1875, he organized a summer school at Normal patterned after the famous school of Harvard Professor Louis Agassiz where teaching was done in the field.[51] At a second summer term in 1878, enthusiastic students founded the Agassiz Society,[52] and from this grew a new organization, the State Natural History Society, with State Geologist Amos Worthen as president and Forbes as secretary. By the end of 1879 it had sixty-six members, ten of whom were professional scientists employed as college teachers or staff members of state agencies.[53]

"This was the period," Forbes said, "of the return to nature in the study of science," and the new society followed the trend. It held two meetings each year, one a field trip and the other a formal program where scientific papers were read. The field trips were especially enjoyed, but Forbes thought they were more for fellowship than permanent scientific value. The Society continued to meet regularly, but attendance declined each year until so few were at the meeting at Jacksonville in 1885 that the organization was disbanded. The Society failed principally because there

50. Forbes to Edwards, in the Superintendent of Public Instruction's *Tenth Biennial Report,* 147-50.

51. Forbes, "History of the Former State Natural History Societies," 24.

52. The Agassiz Association, a national organization with local and state branches for the encouragement of natural history interest among students and teachers had been formed in 1875. See Bates, *Scientific Societies in the U.S.,* 110. There is no evidence that the Illinois group was ever affiliated with the national organization.

53. *Constitution and Record of Organization of the State Natural History Society of Illinois* (Bloomington, 1879), 4.

were too few professional scientists in the state to maintain a vigorous scientific program.[54]

A permanent and effective organization of the scientists of Illinois was not to be achieved until 1907, when the Illinois State Academy of Science was founded, combining all the purposes of its forerunners into its two-fold program: (1) the education of school children to appreciate and understand the world of nature and (2) the encouragement of original research by advanced students and mature scientists.

54. Forbes, "A History of the Former Natural History Societies of Illinois," 25-29; quotation from p. 25.

CHARLES J. STEWART

Lincoln's Assassination and the Protestant Clergy of the North

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ONE OF THE earliest effects of the Civil War was the division of the major Protestant religious denominations into northern and southern factions. By the end of 1861 the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Protestant Episcopal churches had split over the slavery and secession issues. Paul Buck states that "Northern pulpits assailed slavery and disunion as sins. Southern pulpits upheld them as sacred foundations of society and charged the North with sinful conduct in acting against them."[1] As the war progressed, the ministers of both sides continually assured their congregations that God was on their side and that He would see them safely through the crisis.

In the spring of 1865 the Confederacy was near its end; the first two weeks of April brought the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Robert E. Lee and his army. The ministers of the North could now claim "positive" proof that God was on their side, for why else would He have allowed them to achieve such success on the battlefield. On April 14 the flag of the United States was raised once more

1. Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1937), 60.

over the battered ruins of Fort Sumter and triumph seemed complete. But that evening Abraham Lincoln was shot at Ford's Theatre, and by the next morning he was dead.

The shock in the North caused by Lincoln's assassination was unparalleled. Stores and offices were closed, bells tolled throughout the day, flags were at half mast (including the one at Fort Sumter), and buildings, residences, and churches were draped in black.[2]

Within the next month and a half ministers of the North had many opportunities to express their views about the assassination and the coming Reconstruction. The day after Lincoln's death was Easter Sunday, when church attendance is traditionally greater than usual, and the following Wednesday, April 19, 1865 — the day of the funeral in Washington — stores, docks, and exchanges were closed throughout the North, and many churches held services in honor of Lincoln. On April 23, as the Lincoln funeral train was on its way west to Springfield, numerous ministers spoke for the first time on Lincoln's death, many having delayed because of the emotional strain they had been under on the previous Sunday or because they had not had time to prepare an adequate address. Lincoln's body was finally interred at Springfield on May 4, 1865, but public excitement was not allowed to subside. On May 15 the trial of the conspirators began in Washington, and newspapers throughout the country followed the proceedings with verbatim or near-verbatim accounts of the trial, which continued through the entire month of June. These accounts had the effect of

2. *The Daily National Intelligencer* of Washington, D.C.; *The Chicago Daily Tribune*; several New York newspapers including *The World, Herald, Times,* and *Tribune;* the *Cincinnati Commercial;* and two from Philadelphia, *The Press* and *The Daily News* — all have accounts of the nation's reaction to the President's death.

keeping Lincoln's assassination constantly before the public. June 1, 1865, was declared a day of "fast" by Andrew Johnson in honor of Lincoln. Once more, businesses were closed and stores and homes were draped in mourning black.

Many of the sermons preached during this period were later published, and dozens are still extant in pamphlet form. A large part of each sermon was devoted to eulogizing the character and deeds of Abraham Lincoln. Metaphors were heaped on metaphors, and strings of descriptive adjectives were common. For example, Andrew L. Stone, speaking at the Park Street Church in Boston on April 16, 1865, described Lincoln as "the good, the great, the gentle, the kind, the large-hearted, the beloved President."[3]

But sooner or later in all of these sermons the minister reached the point where he felt he must try to justify the "dastardly" deed as a manifestation of God's handiwork. All of them stated quite clearly that God did allow the assassination to take place and that it could not have happened without His sanction. John M. Lowrie, speaking on Easter Sunday at the First Presbyterian Church in Fort Wayne, Indiana, declared, "He who notices the falling sparrow has not allowed our Chief Magistrate to fall without a purpose."[4] In his Detroit church, George Duffield stated, "What shall we say? What can we say, while weeping in the amazement and bewilderment of our grief, but

3. Andrew L. Stone, *A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1865), 10; cited hereafter as Stone, *Death of Lincoln.* Stone was a Congregational Trinitarian.

4. John M. Lowrie, *The Lessons of Our National Sorrow* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1865), reprinted in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries* (New York, 1932), Extra No. 177, p. 58; cited hereafter as Lowrie, *National Sorrow.*

that God hath done it? . . . A holy and righteous God allowed it for his own wise and holy ends."[5]

The interpretations that thirty ministers of the North gave (in thirty-one sermons) for God's allowing the triumphant North to be cast into profound sorrow and grief and for allowing Lincoln to be assassinated on the threshold of victory have been studied in detail. The sermons were selected at random, with the completeness of text and date of delivery being the main criteria. Most of them were published in pamphlet form within a few days after delivery, and most of the sermons had been delivered on April 16, 19, 23, and June 1. Many of the ministers' interpretations reflect their personal or religious beliefs and seem odd or even ridiculous in certain cases. They gave eleven theological justifications for the assassination, five of which pertain directly to the problem of Reconstruction, with the majority calling for an end to leniency and a program of "retributive justice." The ministers who advocated these beliefs wanted the South punished for the war, for slavery, and for Lincoln's assassination, and they were willing to achieve that end by blaming the entire South for Lincoln's assassination and by unfairly charging the Confederacy with all types of barbarities and brutalities. The ministers of the North seem to have used the assassination as a means of promoting their own religious beliefs and vindictive views on Reconstruction.

Of the thirty-one selected sermons, twenty-nine contain some mention of Reconstruction. The most common interpretation (given in twelve of the thirty-one sermons studied)

5. George Duffield, *The Nation's Wail* (Detroit, 1865), reprinted in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries* (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1921), Extra No. 77, p. 30. This sermon was delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Detroit, on April 16, 1865.

was that God had removed Lincoln because he was too lenient on members of the Rebellion. Herrick Johnson, in a sermon before the Third Presbyterian congregation of Pittsburgh, spoke of the danger of Lincoln's undue mercy toward Rebel leaders and declared, "So God took him away from war's tumults and from retribution's ungrateful office, — home."[6] Another minister, Albert G. Palmer, recalled the incidents of Israel's war with the Canaanites and compared God's punishment of the Israelites with Lincoln's assassination:

> But when Israel began to be lenient and sparing, whether from interest or a false sympathy, then the divine judgments fell upon them. . . . I fear this nation has never yet humbled itself "under the mighty hand of God." . . . Even Mr. Lincoln said he "would save the Union with Slavery if he might; without Slavery if he must; but at all events the Union." Was this his sin for which he was only permitted to see the Union "saved without Slavery," but forbidden to remain to enjoy it?[7]

Another example of such rationalization was provided by David Murdoch, the pastor of the Congregational Church of New Milford, Connecticut. He warned against a false theology that would ignore "justice" and speak "only of mercy," and speculated that leniency was Lincoln's "greatest defect" and perhaps the cause of his death. Continuing with this line of reasoning, he stated:

> I do not affirm, absolutely, that this was so. I claim no infallible power wherewith to interpret the divine acts; but, on studying this matter in these intervening days, examining it in the light of God's

6. Herrick Johnson, "*God's Ways Unsearchable*" (Pittsburgh, [1865]), 11. This sermon was delivered in Mozart Hall in Pittsburgh on April 23, 1865.

7. Albert G. Palmer, "A Sermon Delivered at the Baptist Church, Stonington Borough," April 16, 1865 (Wakefield, R.I., 1865), reprinted in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries* (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1916), Extra No. 49, p. 11; cited hereafter as Palmer, "Sermon at Stonington Borough."

book of providence and his book of redemption, I must say, that it seems very like a monition of God's providence to this effect; and the conviction that it is so, only grows the stronger the more it is pondered.[8]

Closely allied with this notion was the conception that God removed Lincoln so that a "firmer" and "fitter" hand might deal with Reconstruction policy.[9] Speaking in the First Presbyterian Church of Troy, New York, Marvin R. Vincent recalled that Lincoln had lived to see the triumph of his military program and at that moment "his life was cut short."[10] "I accept this as an indication that his work as an instrument of Providence ended here," he declared, "and that the work of Reconstruction belonged to other and doubtless fitter instruments." Another minister related that Joshua had not been an equal in all points of view to Moses, but that he was better qualified for the particular circumstances "then existing." Completing his comparison, he added, "So now, may not the present Administration be more likely to bring the rebellion to a wise and righteous termination, than our beloved President would have done?" In the next few paragraphs he described a plan for Reconstruction that called for the free use of the death penalty and then concluded, "To such work our generous, forgiving President was greatly disinclined. May it not, therefore, be well that the Wise Disposer of all events should remove him and give the sword to others, that justice may be done."[11] Morris C. Sutphen took this ration-

8. David Murdoch, *Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Milford, Conn., 1865), 11. This sermon was delivered on April 23, 1865.

9. This contention was supported in nine of the selected sermons.

10. Marvin R. Vincent, *A Sermon on the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Troy, N.Y., 1865), 37; cited hereafter as Vincent, *Assassination of Lincoln*. This sermon was delivered on April 23, 1865.

11. Thomas M. Hopkins, *A Discourse on the Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Bloomington, Ind., 1865), 6-7; cited hereafter as Hopkins, *Discourse*. This

alization a step further, contending that Johnson's southern background made him especially suited for the work of Reconstruction:

> Is it not probable that the very humane policy he desired so much to inaugurate, would have proved prejudicial to the perpetuity of union and liberty, and that it was necessary that one, fresh from hand-to-hand grapple with treason, and familiar with its fiendish spirit, should be placed in power, so to punish rebellion, that it should never again raise its accursed head in the land? Is it not reasonable to suppose that God, having shielded the life of our loved President from the long meditated blow of his murderer . . . took him up to the higher duties and delights of the heavenly world, that one educated among the Southern people, well acquainted with their peculiar prejudices, and already largely experienced in the work of reconstruction, might accomplish this delicate and difficult task? I trust, I believe, it is so.[12]

Two ministers, however, took unusual stands on the issue of leniency. Charles Hammond, in addressing a united service of the Congregational and Methodist churches on June 1, 1865, questioned the wisdom of attributing Lincoln's death to God's dissatisfaction with the President's policy of "mercy and conciliation." "Such a theory of the Divine purposes in the recent events," he added, "suggests darker questions than it solves." Hammond's own justification for a period of harsh Reconstruction was peculiar:

> It is perhaps necessary now to talk of justice and not of mercy, for the reason that the murder of Mr. Lincoln, may have transformed, what seemed ordinary into most extraordinary traitors.
>
> But the character and fame of Mr. Lincoln can have nothing to do with questions of policy, which his own death has started.

sermon was delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Bloomington, Ind., on April 19, 1865.

12. Morris C. Sutphen, *Discourse on the Occasion of the Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Philadelphia, 1865), 18-19; cited hereafter as Sutphen, *Discourse on Lincoln's Death.* This sermon was delivered in the Spring Garden Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on April 16, 1865.

His administration cannot be criticised as faulty, because of the exigencies of the present hour. Because a severe policy is justifiable now, it does not follow that we needed such an one before he died.[13]

Hammond was attempting to justify a change from leniency to retribution because of one act of an insane fanatic. Thus, the entire former Confederacy was to suffer not for four years of rebellion or alleged atrocities but for a single act that had no apparent official connections with the Confederate government. Henry C. Badger, speaking on April 23, 1865, reprimanded those who were criticizing Lincoln's reconciliation policy and placed the blame for excess leniency on the people. "If there were any need of a juster, firmer spirit anywhere," he declared, "it was not in the bosom of the President, but in the hearts of the people."[14] Badger continued for several minutes to upbraid the people for the glorification of Robert E. Lee and for allowing the Rebel legislature to meet in Richmond after that city's capture.

A third justification for Lincoln's assassination was the contention that such a calamity was needed in order to arouse the North from its complacency and to force it to examine its own attitude of leniency toward the South. Richard Edwards, speaking at Normal University in Normal, Illinois, reminded his audience that many of them had been talking of "magnanimity, of generosity to a fallen foe, of leniency and conciliation." He speculated that such feelings might lead to a time when Jefferson Davis would

13. Charles Hammond, *A Sermon on the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, [Mass.], 1865), 8. This sermon was delivered at the Monson Academy on June 1, 1865. Hammond was a Methodist.

14. Henry C. Badger, *The Humble Conqueror* (Boston, 1865), 14-15. This sermon was delivered in the Springfield Chapel in Boston, a Congregational Trinitarian church.

run for the presidency and Robert E. Lee would share the command of the army with Grant, but he added that God had seen this danger and had allowed Lincoln to be murdered: "The distinction between treason and loyalty was to be obliterated in a glorious display of brotherhood and good feeling. From a dream so idle and mischievous, so foolish and criminal, God has aroused us by permitting this last crowning act of fiendish malignity."[15] Several other ministers supported this argument. Herrick Johnson, for example, said that "perhaps this last exhibition was needed, in the providence of God, to keep the plotters of treason from playing the role of martyrs"; and Leonard Swain remarked, "It may be that nothing short of this startling and awful calamity which has come upon us could have thoroughly roused us out of that fatal slumber. And that *has* thoroughly roused us. We shall hear no more talk of pardoning the leaders of this rebellion."[16] At least four others of the ministers studied agreed that one last crime — the assassination — had been needed to arouse the North from any further notions of leniency and forgiveness.

A fourth justification for Lincoln's death, and one closely related to the preceding, was based upon the conviction that such a calamity was needed in order to unite the North in the forthcoming Reconstruction period. As the Rev. Marvin R. Vincent said,

If anything were needed to teach a certain class of Northern men the true nature and tendencies of the cause they have been secretly

15. Richard Edwards, *The Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln* (Peoria, Ill., 1865), reprinted in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries* (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1916), Extra No. 45, p. 9; cited hereafter as Edwards, *Life and Character*. Edwards, who was president of Normal University and a Unitarian minister, delivered this sermon on April 19, 1865.

16. Johnson, *"God's Ways Unsearchable,"* 9; and Leonard Swain, *A Nation's Sorrow* ([Providence, R.I., 1865]), 8. This sermon was delivered in the Central Congregational Church, Providence, on April 16, 1865.

favoring, this deed has supplied the want. Henceforth, brothers, we go forth more unitedly to our work. Henceforth the lines are more sharply drawn. Henceforth we know but two classes — loyal men and traitors.[17]

Robert B. Yard, in a sermon entitled "The Providential Significance of the Death of Abraham Lincoln," supported this same contention: "The result has vindicated the wisdom of the permissive Providence. The event was a refining process that purged the nation, and men drew nearer to God and to each other, under the bitter trial."[18] Henry C. Badger spoke at length on the need for unity, and argued that the lack of unity had been caused by the fact that not all northerners had suffered from the war. Through the assassination, he believed, all in the North had now suffered and unity would prevail:

> The nation had virtually pardoned him and his army [Lee], and were ready to make his red hands white with the kisses of their forgiveness.
>
> Individuals cried out against it. Mourning households protested against it, as an outrage on the memory of their patriot dead. They whose hearts lie buried at Antietam or Gettysburg; who weep over Malvern Hill or Fair Oaks; whose kindred lie in the Wilderness or at Manassas, at Winchester or Harper's Ferry, by Fredericksburg or along the James, at Petersburg, yes, or in the nameless graves at Richmond; they whose brothers and sons languished mid the horrors of Andersonville, and came thence rotting skeletons or drivelling idiots, or came thence, alas! no more, — these all protested against such unreasonable mercy to traitors, as unfaithfulness to our country's future, and to the memory of our dead. But our countrymen were not *all* mourners: many households had been untouched. Something was needed to bring this disturbed

17. Vincent, *Assassination of Lincoln*, 42-43.

18. Robert B. Yard, *The Providential Significance of the Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Newark, N.J., [1865]), reprinted in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries* (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1921), Extra No. 73, p. 12; cited hereafter as Yard, *Providential Significance*. This sermon was delivered in the Central M. E. Church, Newark, on June 1, 1865.

grief to the heart of every man and woman in the land; and God permitted that assassination. . . . We are *one party now.* We are *all* mourners.[19]

This statement is an excellent example, first, of the rationalization of "unity through calamity" and, second, of a characteristic of eighteen of the thirty-one selected sermons: the recalling in detail of the brutalities and barbarities of slavery and its offspring, the Confederate States of America.

Many ministers contented themselves simply with mentioning such names as Andersonville, Libby Prison, Fort Pillow, Bull Run, and the Wilderness, while others went into the gory details of stories or rumors that had little foundation in fact. Charles S. Robinson, for example, spoke of villages that had been invaded and of "women and children shot down with fiendish glee."[20] Frederick Starr, in a sermon given April 16 at Penn Yan, New York, and repeated on May 14 at St. Louis, dealt at length with the treatment of Union prisoners in the South. He spoke of starvation, throat cutting, burying alive, unnecessary amputations, and bayoneting of wounded prisoners while others were crucified or burned alive by slow fires.[21] Even the famed Phillips Brooks could not resist discussing the alleged barbarism of the South:

It has hewed and burned the bodies of the dead. It has starved and mutilated its helpless prisoners. . . . It has sent its agents into Northern towns to fire peaceful hotels where hundreds of peaceful men and women slept. It has undermined the prisons where

19. Badger, *The Humble Conqueror,* 15-16.

20. Charles S. Robinson, *The Martyred President* (New York, 1865), 15. This sermon was delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, on April 16, 1865.

21. Frederick Starr, *The Martyr President* (St. Louis, 1865), 16. This sermon was delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Penn Yan, N.Y., and in the North Presbyterian Church of St. Louis.

its victims starved, and made all ready to blow with one blast their wretched life away.[22]

The bodies of the dead received special attention in several other sermons. Henry E. Niles, for example, accused southerners of having carved the "bones of fallen soldiers into trophies and charms";[23] and Clement M. Butler claimed that the Union dead at Bull Run had been buried "with the faces downward" and that their skulls had been converted into "drinking cups."[24] An accusation made by George Duffield was unique: "Strong circumstantial evidence," he said, proved that Presidents Harrison and Taylor had died from the slow administration of poison "in pursuance of a plan and purpose that no Northern man should ever be President of the United States." This accusation is even more preposterous than it sounds when one considers that Taylor was born in Virginia and reared in Kentucky, was the owner of a plantation and a great many slaves, and had a daughter who married Jefferson Davis and a son who was a Louisiana politician and later a Confederate officer. Perhaps this is no more far-fetched, however, than the statement that skulls had been buried face-downward and at the same time used for drinking cups.

A number of ministers also accused the South of having used what would be known today as bacteriological war-

22. Phillips Brooks, *The Life and Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Philadelphia, 1865), 18. This sermon was delivered in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, on April 23, 1865. Brooks was an Episcopalian.

23. Henry E. Niles, *Address on the Occasion of President Lincoln's Funeral Obsequies* (York, Pa., 1865), 6; cited hereafter as Niles, *Lincoln's Obsequies*. This sermon was delivered in the Lutheran Church in York on April 19, 1865. Niles was a Presbyterian, but delivered this sermon before a multi-denominational meeting.

24. Clement M. Butler, *Funeral Address on the Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Philadelphia, 1865), 25; cited hereafter as Butler, *Funeral Address*. This sermon was delivered in the Church of the Covenant, Philadelphia, on April 19, 1865. Butler was an Episcopalian.

fare. The most articulate of these accusations was made by George Duffield:

> The evidence will be forthcoming in due season, of a Satanic sagacity in appeals to the laws of nature, and discoveries of science, for the generation and diffusion of pestilence of various sorts in our large cities. Scientific and medical professors, lauded for their benevolence and social worth, have been, and are still employed for the importation, from Bermuda into Washington City, Norfolk and Newbern, of goods artfully infected with the virus or miasm of the yellow fever, for the introduction and diffusion of pestilence as an element and agent of the warfare waged by rebellion. The like experiments have been made for the generation of the small-pox.[25]

These reminders of real or alleged brutalities and barbarities were usually connected with the general belief that John Wilkes Booth was only the instrument used by the slave power or the Confederacy to assassinate Lincoln. Twenty-five of the thirty-one selected sermons contain statements to the effect that the actual murderer was of little or no significance and that the blame must rest with the Confederacy. Leonard Swain, speaking in the Central Congregational Church of Providence, Rhode Island, stated, "This horrible deed of assassination is the deed and crime of slavery. The individual perpetrator is nothing. The nation scarcely cares to ask who he is, or what he is."[26] Another minister, Robert H. Williams of Frederick, Maryland, attempted to discount any argument that the South might not be responsible for the assassination. "Some, no doubt, will attempt to show that the South had nothing to do with this act," he declared, "but, we think, no one can deny that the murderer was prompted by the same spirit, which raised and held together the armies of the rebellion. . . . It was

25. Duffield, *The Nation's Wail,* 35-36.
26. Swain, *A Nation's Sorrow,* 5.

a sly, miserable emissary of the rebellion who did the guilty deed. It was a plotting, cunning wretch, deeply in sympathy with the rebellion, who sought the President's life."[27] A final illustration of this conception is the following from a sermon delivered in Philadelphia on April 19 by George Dana Boardman:

> . . . whether the appointed and duly certified organ of conspirators or not, it matters little, is nevertheless the actual summation and type of that slaveholding power which . . . has been willing to drench a continent in fratricidal blood. Oh, what a type and symbol of this whole insurrectionary movement of the South, this assassination of President Lincoln has been![28]

Twenty-five of the thirty ministers laid the blame for Lincoln's assassination on the Confederacy and its institution of slavery. And of the remaining five not even one made any attempt whatever to caution his hearers that the South as a whole was not to blame for the fanatical actions of John Wilkes Booth.

In view of these statements it is not surprising that most of the ministers studied recommended a harsh Reconstruction. Twenty-three called for a policy that would provide the death penalty for the major political and military leaders of the South. Edwin B. Webb, for example, said:

> We want no revenge: we will wait the forms and processes of law. We want justice tempered with mercy. We want the leaders punished, but the masses of the people pardoned. Let us confide in him [Andrew Johnson] as our President. And do you make crime odious, disfranchise every man who has held office in the

27. Robert H. Williams, *"A Time to Weep,"* reprinted in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries* (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1917), Extra No. 61, p. 6. This sermon was delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Frederick, Md., on April 29, 1865.

28. George Dana Boardman, "An Address in Commemoration of Abraham Lincoln," *Addresses* (Philadelphia, 1865), 62; cited hereafter as Boardman, "Commemoration of Lincoln." This sermon was delivered in the First Baptist Church.

rebel government, and every commissioned officer in the rebel army; make the halter certain to the intelligent and influential, who are guilty of perjury and treason, and so make yourself a terror to him that doeth evil, and a praise to him that doeth good, — and we will stand by you, Andrew Johnson.[29]

This plan of Reconstruction was far more severe than that which was actually set up by the Radical Republicans in Congress, yet it was very similar to those advocated in more than two-thirds of the selected sermons. Another minister, Leonard Swain, called for the execution of "the leaders of the rebellion, or a suitable number of them." Then, he said, the majority of southerners could be forgiven.[30] Of the twenty-three ministers who called for a restrictive Reconstruction policy, a few were guilty of gross contradictions in reasoning. Albert G. Palmer, for example, made these statements in the middle of his discourse:

> The nation will now arise and gird itself to fulfill the retributive ends of Providence.
>
> Henceforth the passwords along all our lines will be "No more dalliance with slavery" — "no lenient leaning toward traitors" — "no easy paroles for assassins" — but "Justice, stern justice."
>
> If the blood of righteous Abel cried to Heaven for vengeance, how much more the blood of honest Abraham Lincoln. And the cry of his blood will be heard and answered.

Yet he concluded his sermon with the phrase "with charity for all and with malice for none," taken from Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.[31] Of the thirty ministers studied, Henry Ward Beecher, perhaps, came the closest to advocating a lenient Reconstruction. Referring to Lincoln,

29. Edwin B. Webb, "The Assassination of the President," *Memorial Sermons* (Boston, 1865), 59-60; cited hereafter as Webb, "The Assassination." This sermon was delivered at the Shawmut Church, Boston, on April 16, 1865. Webb was a Congregational Trinitarian.

30. Swain, *A Nation's Sorrow,* 8.

31. Palmer, "Sermon at Stonington Borough," 10, 16.

he stated, "I charge you to emulate his justice, his moderation, and his mercy."[32] Beecher's other statements, however, were so ambiguous that his real attitude toward the South is not clear.

A fifth justification for Lincoln's death, as seen by the theologians, dealt with the age-old controversy over capital punishment. At least three ministers contended that God had allowed Lincoln's death in order to demonstrate the need for the death penalty and His desire to have it reinstated in those states where it had been abolished. George Duffield, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, was the leading exponent of this belief:

> As a people, we have of late years lost sight of the great end and obligation of civil government, designed of God, as His ordinance, for the punishment of crime and the promotion of the general good. Law has lost its sacredness. Fanaticism has been substituted for religion. In the North a spurious self-righteous humanitarianism, claiming to be wiser and more benevolent than the God of the Bible, has sympathized with the perpetrators of evil, in the indulgence of a mawkish and murderous charity, so-called, denouncing capital punishment, destroying the sanctions of law, and undermining the authority of government.

Duffield also charged the people of the North with having "allowed pseudo-philanthropists to insult the God of the Bible, . . . by corrupting public sentiment, to disannul the death penalty." He said that murderers by the hundreds and thousands had been overlooked or allowed to go unpunished and that life had been held "even less sacred than property." "And now a righteous God, who will not allow His Constitution to be violated with impunity," Duffield

32. Henry Ward Beecher, "A Sermon on the Death of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States," *Presentation Memorial to Working Men* (Manchester, England, 1865), 54; cited hereafter as Beecher, "Death of Lincoln." This sermon was delivered in the Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, on April 23, 1865.

exclaimed, "has allowed the murderer's hand, in the face and eyes of the whole country, to strike down its pure and honest, its noble and patriotic President." Such statements on Reconstruction policy were significant because of their source, and because the death penalty had not been imposed on Confederate leaders. "Perhaps just this, and nothing short of it," he concluded, "was needed to bring the public mind to a just and proper estimate of human life, and demand the restoration of the death penalty to the place a God of justice and mercy has assigned it in the administration of government."[33] Edwin Webb also supported the argument for capital punishment and cited examples of persons who had got off easily in the courts of the United States. "There has been a miserable, morbid, bastard philanthropy, which, if it did not make the murderer's couch a bed of flowers, and set his table with butter and honey, made him an object of sympathy, and, after a while, of executive clemency," he added. Webb then proceeded to carry his argument from capital punishment in general to capital punishment for rebel leaders:

> And so in regard to the leaders of this infernal Rebellion: the feeling was gaining ground here to let them off really without penalty. They are our brethren, it is said. Then, we reply, they have added *fratricide* to the enormity of their crimes, and are unspeakably the more guilty![34]

Frederick Starr was particularly disturbed that capital punishment had not been used against Confederate leaders. He reminded his hearers that the crime of treason, the only crime defined in the Constitution, had been raging in the United States for more than four years. "Until this hour,"

33. Duffield, *The Nation's Wail,* 34, 38, 39.
34. Webb, "The Assassination," 53, 54.

he declared, *"I know not that one man hath been executed for* TREASON *against the United States."* He continued by recalling that John Brown had been captured by "LOYAL *Col. Robert E. Lee and ninety U.S. Marines, aided by the militia of Virginia,"* and warned that if the North did not visit the same penalty upon the leaders of the Confederacy, "God, who hath punished us so bitterly for our sins; and who, if we permit the wicked to go unpunished, will Himself punish us further *therefor.*"[35] The inference here, as in the statements of Duffield and Webb, is that God had permitted the assassination in order to demonstrate the need for the use of the death penalty against both treason of Rebel leaders and acts of capital crime in general.

Of the theological justifications for Lincoln's assassination that did not relate to Reconstruction, the most common was the belief that God had allowed the assassination to show the people of the North that they were in danger of worshiping idols. God removed Lincoln, the theologians argued, before he could be elevated to too high a place for a human being to occupy:

> It is hard for us to have our President taken from us by the hand of violence without receiving a single parting word from those lips which had so often spoken peace to our troubled spirits. But God cannot tolerate idols. . . . This nation was on the point of worshiping Mr. Lincoln. . . . We knew not how much we loved him until he was gone. This fact alone shows that there was danger of his occupying too great a space in our hearts.[36]

This justification for Lincoln's death was given in thirteen, or nearly half, of the selected sermons. Charles P. Krauth, pastor of the First English Evangelical Lutheran Church of Pittsburgh, reminded his parishioners that they

35. Starr, *The Martyr President,* 17, 19.
36. Hopkins, *Discourse,* 5-6.

had shown such enthusiasm over Lincoln and his leadership that they "needed to have . . . [their] eyes lifted." "The person of great leaders," he continued, "is often the peril of their principles — the human race are all in instinct idolaters."[37] George Dana Boardman, in a sermon on April 16, said that God would continue to punish the United States until it realized that He was its true leader, and not man:

> And, however broad in statesmanship we may be, or energetic in purpose, or profound in strategy, or heroic in the field, I believe that God will continue, ever and anon, to balk suddenly, in some way for the present misunderstood by us, our most consummate schemes, till the national heart feels at its very core that the Lord God of Hosts is the real ruler of America, and that President, Secretary of State, general, soldier, citizen, is strong only as Almighty God stoops down from His throne, and helps him to be strong.[38]

William B. Sprague, speaking in the Second Presbyterian Church of Albany, New York, was concerned with the North's constant faith in human leadership throughout the war. He recalled that "certain names on the list of . . . military heroes" had been identified with successes on the battlefield "far more than . . . 'the name of the Lord,' which is our only 'strong tower.' "[39] Such reasoning was a simple means of justifying God's actions in permitting so many Union generals to fail and then in permitting the President himself to be assassinated. This line of thought was most positively expressed by Morris C. Sutphen:

37. Charles P. Krauth, *The Two Pageants* (Pittsburgh, 1865), 7. This sermon was delivered on June 1, 1865.

38. George Dana Boardman, "Death, the Law of Life," *Addresses* (Philadelphia, 1865), 39-40. This sermon was delivered at the First Baptist Church.

39. William B. Sprague, *A Discourse Delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, April 16, 1865* (Albany, 1865), 15.

Yea, more. Was not the President's death necessary to the nation's life? Were we not leaning upon an arm of flesh, forgetful of the ever-loving God, . . . Was his removal not necessary to turn the eyes of the people upwards to the everlasting hills, whence alone all help must come?[40]

These rationalizations of the assassination as a divine warning against idolatry served a twofold purpose: first, they answered the hearers' question as to why God had allowed such a dastardly deed to take place, and, second, they were designed to draw the people closer to God and the Christian church.

The next most common rationalization of the assassination, and perhaps the most simply stated, was the contention that Lincoln died when he did because his work was done. Thomas E. Bliss of the Union Church of Memphis, Tennessee, stated:

But God, we believe, had prepared another and a better Rest for him. His work was done, and well done! And now, for wise and holy purposes which we know not yet, but which we shall know hereafter, the hand of an assassin is permitted to complete the long catalogue of the crimes of treason.[41]

Frederick Starr told his listeners that they might "profitably enquire, *Why hath God taken away the head of the nation?*" To this question he gave four brief answers, the fourth being: "God had fulfilled the earthly service and mission of Abraham Lincoln. Had God chosen longer to have saved him, had He required further service at his hands, he had not died."[42] The ministers who used this justification gave no convincing evidence to show that Lincoln's work was done, however. Clement M. Butler, for

40. Sutphen, *Discourse on Lincoln's Death,* 17.
41. Thomas E. Bliss, *A Discourse Commemorative of the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln* (Memphis, 1865), 13. Bliss was a Congregationalist.
42. Starr, *The Martyr President,* 8.

example, said only that Lincoln's "peculiar work was done, his mission ended, his reward ready"; and Richard Edwards remarked that "the divine plan in respect to him had been fulfilled, [and] that the time was ripe for his departure."[43] A few speakers hinted that Lincoln was no longer useful and that someone else was needed for the Reconstruction period. Thus, Andrew L. Stone stated, "His mission was accomplished. That for which God raised him up he had performed. All that was committed to him to do he finished, and finished well. That which comes after is assigned to other heads."[44]

Lincoln's death, coming at the very moment of victory, offered a perfect analogy to the death of Moses. Robert B. Yard recalled all of Lincoln's better traits and then concluded, "But the hour of his work drew on when he could say, 'It is finished.' The dark hour for which he was given was about to yield to a glorious period of triumph and repose. . . . Like Moses at Nebo, he saw the land, and when he had seen it he was gathered unto his fathers."[45] Joseph A. Seiss, speaking at St. John's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, based his entire sermon on the story of Moses and concluded with the statement that it was only natural for Lincoln to die on the threshold of victory as Moses had done.[46] Several other ministers, Henry Ward Beecher among them, also used this comparison. Eleven of the ministers studied supported the general reasoning that God allowed Lincoln to die only when his work was completed.

Another view of the assassination was the belief it was

43. Butler, *Funeral Address,* 10; and Edwards, *Life and Character,* 8.
44. Stone, *Death of Lincoln,* 16.
45. Yard, *Providential Significance,* 13.
46. Joseph A. Seiss, *The Assassinated President* (Philadelphia, 1865), 16. This sermon was delivered on June 1, 1865.

justified because it made Lincoln a martyr. Eleven ministers also supported this line of reasoning. Nathan H. Chamberlain, pastor of St. James Church, Birmingham, Connecticut, stated that "martyrdom for duty lifts a man out of days, to become a citizen of the ages." About Lincoln he said, "Assassination hath embalmed his fame and memory with his own blood."[47] This general contention made up an important part of the sermon in which Richard Edwards treated the time and manner of Lincoln's death:

> And how sublimely great was he in his glorious death! Dying as he did, in so noble a cause, his immortality, the sweet memory of him in the hearts of his countrymen, in the literature of his country and of the world, wherever the names of the good and great are treasured as rich gifts from the past, is secured beyond doubt or peradventure.[48]

Many ministers were more concerned with what might have happened to Lincoln's reputation if he had lived through the Reconstruction period and practiced his lenient policies. This is hinted at in the following remarks of James A. McCauley: "The fame of Mr. Lincoln will not be hurt – it likely will be helped – by the tragic close of his career."[49] Others, however, were more outright, with speculations that his plans for Reconstruction would have damaged his reputation. Henry E. Niles, for example, told his audience that Lincoln had lived long enough to conduct the war and to see triumph, "but *not* long enough to make a single mistake in the new field of duty, which was just opening before him. . . . So far as his own reputation is concerned," he said,

47. Nathan H. Chamberlain, *The Assassination of President Lincoln* (New York, 1865), 20; cited hereafter as Chamberlain, *The Assassination*. He was an Episcopalian and delivered this sermon on April 19, 1865.

48. Edwards, *Life and Character,* 22.

49. James A. McCauley, *Character and Services of Abraham Lincoln* (Baltimore, 1865), 16. This sermon was delivered in the Eutaw M. E. Church on June 1, 1865.

"it was *just the time* for him to go."[50] Perhaps this whole point was best stated by Nathan H. Chamberlain, "The grave has wisely silenced all criticism of him whatever."[51] The most remarkable aspect of these statements is the foresight with which these ministers looked upon the effect of Lincoln's death. Some of them, within a matter of hours after the actual event, predicted quite accurately that the timing and manner of his death would enhance his fame.

Since Lincoln had been shot in a theater, and since many churches of the period were strongly opposed to their members' attending such places, it was only natural that many ministers would use the occasion to attack the theater. Ten of the sermons studied contain some criticism of the theater and actors, with attacks ranging from such statements as regrets "that he perished in a Theatre; it is a place a Christian should not go, – where he should not die,"[52] to lengthy discourses that blame the theater for Lincoln's death. George Dana Boardman told his parishioners that Lincoln's attendance at the theater was "the solitary cloud that flecked the expanse of his public career."[53] The most lengthy discussion of the theater, and perhaps the most brutal, was that of Frederick Starr. Although he recognized the reasons for Lincoln's going to the theater (for escape, recreation, and a place to meet the public informally), he declared that such attendance set a bad example for the citizens and youth of the nation and that the President "gave his influence and presence, to fill the coffers of those who are the most useless members of the whole community, in contributing anything to the well-being, the

50. Niles, *Lincoln's Obsequies*, 5.
51. Chamberlain, *The Assassination*, 7.
52. Hopkins, *Discourse*, 4.
53. Boardman, "Commemoration of Lincoln," 61.

prosperity, or the property of the nation." After describing actors and the stage in the harshest terms, he concluded: "We could wish that our noble martyr had met his death in almost any other place than a theatre — by almost any hand rather than that of a depraved actor. This is a drop peculiar in our great cup of grief."[54] George Duffield presented most of his sermon without mentioning the theater; then, almost as an afterthought, he devoted a concluding paragraph to its denunciation:

> Would that he had fallen elsewhere than at the very gates of Hell — in the theatre, to which through persuasion, he so reluctantly went. But, thus a stain has been put upon that so falsely called school of virtue. How awful and severe the rebuke, which God has administered to the nation, for pampering such demoralizing places of resort! The blood of Abraham Lincoln can never be effaced from the stage. God grant that it may prove the brand of infamy consigning the theatre, which even Solon and the old moral Greeks abhorred, to the disgrace it merits, and the abhorrence of this nation.[55]

Such statements demonstrate that the ministers had few reservations about choosing theological justifications for Lincoln's death that fitted in with their personal beliefs.

The fifth of this series of nonpolitical justifications of the assassination was based on the vague conception that God had allowed Lincoln to be assassinated in order to make his principles more effective and forceful. George Dana Boardman devoted his entire April 16 sermon to that portion of Scripture which reads, "Verily, verily, I say unto you: except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."[56] Boardman spoke at length on the relation of Christ's state-

54. Starr, *The Martyr President,* 13, 15.
55. Duffield, *The Nation's Wail,* 41.
56. Boardman, "Death, the Law of Life," 31-32 (John 12:24).

ment to the war in progress and then explained how it pertained to Lincoln's assassination and death:

> I have been speaking of the application of this principle, *life through death,* to nations. Let me bring this point still nearer home, even to these bleeding hearts of ours that as yet refuse to be comforted. . . . the nation's triumph and greatness may spring from Abraham Lincoln's death. Had he been permitted to live till the term of his great office had expired, and, afterwards, in a green old age, to die amidst the tranquillities of his Illinois home, he would still have been the glorious nobleman that God crowned him in his birth; but he might have *abided alone,* fructifying into no national harvest. . . . But when, beneath the sufferance of an inscrutable Providence, the assassin's bullet laid him low, the glorious seed died, that it might no longer abide alone, but *bring forth much fruit.*[57]

The vagueness of Boardman's statement was typical of most of the five sermons in which this argument appeared, although a few ministers did attempt some sort of an explanation. Henry Ward Beecher, for example, remarked that Lincoln's death would make people listen to his words who had previously refused to do so: "Even he who now sleeps has, by this event, been clothed with new influence. Dead, he speaks to men who now willingly hear what before they refused to listen to. Now his simple and weighty words will be gathered like those of Washington."[58]

The last of the eleven interpretations of Lincoln's death was given by five ministers, who contended that God had allowed Lincoln to be assassinated to demonstrate to the world the strength of the republican form of government. Henry Ward Beecher was a stanch supporter of this belief. "Republican institutions," he said, "have been vindicated. . . . God, I think, has said, by . . . this event, to all nations of

57. *Ibid.,* 44-45.
58. Beecher, "Death of Lincoln," 54.

the earth, 'Republican liberty, based upon true Christianity, is firm as the foundation of the globe.' "[59] The inference here, of course, is that any form of government that can continue to function with hardly a pause after its leader has been struck down must be a very strong one. During the Civil War many foreign governments had continually forecast the doom of the American republic, but the assassination proved them wrong. David Murdoch was one of the ministers who now attacked these predictions:

> How sublimely have the hopes and vaticinations of tyrants and aristocrats been cast down! O, ye titled names, ye crowns and mitered heads, where now are your prophesies? And thou thundering *London Times,* art thou not proved a false and vaunting blusterer, made to lie down in the dust and eat thy lying words?[60]

"Our great example will stir anew the love of liberty in every soul of man," Richard Edwards stated, "and the entire race, redeemed from political thralldom, shall yet praise God for the life and death of ABRAHAM LINCOLN."[61] And George Duffield declared, "By the blessing of Providence it survived and triumphed, and shed forth its gleam of glory to enlighten the world."[62]

These ministers and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of others had unlimited opportunities to present their cases to the people. Their influence on the defeat of Johnson's moderate policy of Reconstruction and on the success of the Radical Republicans in Congress can only be speculated upon at this point, but it seems likely that historians have not yet given enough attention to the effect of the nineteenth-century church on state affairs.

59. *Ibid.*
60. Murdoch, *Death of Lincoln,* 15.
61. Edwards, *Life and Character,* 23.
62. Duffield, *The Nation's Wail,* 33.

Family Histories

The Illinois State Historical Library has one of the principal collections of genealogical source material in the state. Although the standard periodicals and reference works dealing with family history are purchased by the Library, many of its most valuable acquisitions are gifts of public-spirited citizens. In the period between July 1, 1960, and June 30, 1961, forty-eight books and pamphlets, listed below, have been received as gifts. Titles are arranged alphabetically by major subject.

Ackley. N. Grier Parke, *The Ancestry of Lorenzo Ackley and His Wife Emma Arabella Bosworth,* from the Elm Tree Press, Woodstock, Vt.

Adkins. Nell Watson Sherman (Mrs. Frank J.), "The Adkins, Hall, McKenzie, Waltrip Family Reunion," from the author, Peoria, Ill.

Armand. See *DeArmond.*

Barlow. Margaret Barlow Cowdin (Mrs. F. P.), "Genealogy of the St. Louis Branch of the Barlow Family," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Berks County, Pa. Beulah Hix Blair (Mrs. Julian M.), *Some Early Lineages of Berks County, Pa.: Clauser (Klauser)—Hicks (Hix) and Associated Lines,* from the author, Boulder, Colo.

Boone County. Robert L. Steenrod, "Boone County, Illinois, Marriage Records, 1838-1860," from the author, Belvidere, Ill.

Bosworth. See *Ackley.*

Briggs. Dolorus Briggs Mansfield, "History of the Briggs—Bridge Family," from the Briggs Family Reunion Association, Mrs. D. A. Bentley, secretary, Pawnee, Ill.

Brown. "The Brown Family in America: A Monthly Bulletin of Genealogical News," No. 1 (Oct. 1, 1960) to date, from Earl R. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.

———. Earl R. Brown, "An Incomplete Genealogical Survey for the Ancestors and Descendants of Matthew and Jane Jones Brown," from the author, Indianapolis, Ind.

Buchanan. Laura Alice (Buchanan) Reichelderfer, "Buchanans of Ohio and Pennsylvania," from Mrs. John D. Werkman, Chicago.

Burwell. See *Hale.*

Butterbaugh. See *Puterbaugh.*

Caldwell. See *Young.*

Campbell. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

Carpenter. John L. Carpenter, "The Carpenter Family History," from the author, East St. Louis, Ill.

Clauser. See *Berks County, Pa.*

Corder. Eleanor M. Franklin, "Some Corders of Virginia and Their Descendants," from the author, Mattoon, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution. Index to the Genealogical Department of the Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, Vol. 92 (1958) by Martha Porter Miller and Vols. 93 and 94 (1959, 1960) by John Frederick Dorman, from the Springfield (Ill.) Chapter, DAR.

DeArmond. Roscoe C. Armand, *DeArmond Families of America . . . and Related Families,* from the East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville, Tenn.

DeIrvyn. See *Irvine.*

DeKalb County. Robert L. Steenrod, "DeKalb County, Illinois, Marriage Records, 1837-1850," from the author, Belvidere, Ill.

DeLap. Harve Eugene DeLap, "The History of the DeLap Family and Related Families," from the author, Carbondale, Ill.

Elliff. Joseph D. Elliff, *The Genealogy of the Elliff Family,* from Mrs. Harvey Elliff, Glen Carbon, Ill.

Endecott. Mabel McFatridge McCloskey, *Some Descendants of John Endecott, Governor of Mass. Bay Colony,* from the Endecott–Fitch Reunion, Carmi, Ill.

Etter. "Etter Letter," Vol. I, No. 1 (Jan., 1960) to date, from Miss Ruth Etter, Springfield, Ill.

Gildersleeve. See *Parke.*

Graham. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

Hale. Mrs. Anna Gleaves Rich, [Genealogical Tables of Hale–Burwell . . . and Related Families], from Olive Scott Benkelman, Ottawa, Ill.

Hall. See *Adkins.*

Hays. Julie E. Tulpin, "David Hays of Lancaster County, Pa. . . .," from Miss Rose Hayes, Pleasant Plains, Ill.

Hicks, Hix. See *Berks County, Pa.*

Hood. Delmann O. Hood, *The Tunis Hood Family: Its Lineage and Traditions,* from the author, Portland, Ore.

Houston. James Kimble Young, Jr., "Houston, Houstoun, Huston — An Ancient Family of Renfrewshire, Scotland . . .," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Hutton. Roy Hutton Ball, *Pioneer Heritage: Genealogy of One*

Branch of the Hutton Family, from the author, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Irvine. James Kimble Young, Jr., "An Irvine Lineage — from William de Irvyn (1260-1335) . . .," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Klauser. See *Berks County, Pa.*

Knapdale, Scotland. Somerled MacMillan, *Families of Knapdale, Their History and Their Place-Names: Being a Compendium of Information on the MacMillans, the MacSweens, the Campbells, the MacNeills, the MacAllisters, the MacTavishes, the MacIlvernocks or Grahams, and Others of Knapdale,* from Edward B. MacMillan, Ipswich, Mass.

Kniskern. Walter Hamlin Kniskern, *Some of the Descendants of Johann Peter Kniskern . . .,* from the author, Petersburg, Va.

Lancaster County, Pa. Frederick S. Weiser, "Parochial Registers for Lutheran Congregations in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," from the author, Lancaster, Pa.

Lawrence County, Ind. James M. Guthrie, *"Thirty Three Years" in the History of Lawrence County, Indiana, 1884-1917,* from the author, Bedford, Ind.

Lemaster. Howard Marshall Lemaster, *Lemaster Family, U.S.A., 1960,* from the author, Carlinville, Ill.

MacAllister. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

MacIlvernock. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

McKenzie. See *Adkins.*

MacMillan. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

MacNeill. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

MacSween. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

MacTavish. See *Knapdale, Scotland.*

Meyer. Alfred D. Keator, "Four Generations of the Meyer Family," from Erwin A. Meyers, Chicago.

Moore. Marion C. Moore, "The Ancestors of James Bauman Moore and Tonna Marian Moore, of Tolono, Champaign County, Illinois," from the author, Tolono, Ill.

Mudd. Richard Dyer Mudd, *Descendants of Dr. Samuel Alexander Mudd,* from the author, Saginaw, Mich.

Ogle County. Robert L. Steenrod, "Ogle County, Illinois, Marriage Records, 1837-1850," from the author, Belvidere, Ill.

Paddleford. Frank Stewart Kinsey, "Our Paddleford Descendants," from the author, Chula Vista, Calif.

Parke. N. Grier Parke, *The Ancestry of Rev. Nathan Grier Parke and of His Wife Ann Elizabeth Gildersleeve,* from the Elm Tree Press, Woodstock, Vt.

Perry County. See *Randolph County.*

Puterbaugh. Marie Galbreath Good, "Puterbaugh—Butterbaugh—Puderbaugh," from John W. Good, Pacific Grove, Calif.

Randolph County. Robert C. Robertson, *Pioneer Families of Randolph and Perry Counties, Illinois,* from the author, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Scrymgeour. James Kimble Young, Jr., "The Family of Scrymgeour (Scrimger) . . .," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Southworth. Jay L. Southworth, "Southworth Genealogy: The Antecedents, Contemporaries, and Descendants of the Rev. Joseph S. Southworth," from the author, Mountain Home, Ark.

Threlkeld. John L. Carpenter, "The Family History of the Threlkelds," from the author, East St. Louis, Ill.

Ulrey. Laura Alice (Buchanan) Reichelderfer, "Ulrey Family of Ohio and Pennsylvania," from Mrs. John D. Werkman, Chicago.

Vandeveer. Mabel Van Dyke Baer (Mrs. Frank L.), *The Vandeveers of North Carolina, Kentucky, and Indiana,* from the author, Washington, D.C.

Waltrip. See *Adkins.*

Warne. George Warne Labaw, *A Genealogy of the Warne Family in America,* from the La Grange (Ill.) Chapter, DAR.

Winnebago County. Robert L. Steenrod, "Winnebago County, Illinois, Marriage Records, 1836-1850," from the author, Belvidere, Ill.

Wood. Dorothy Wood Ewers (Mrs. Ernest A.), "One Hundred Ninety-six Grandparents: Some Descendants of John Wood of Rhode Island (1655) and Some of Their Ancestors," from the author, Crete, Ill.

Young(e). James Kimble Young, Jr., "Random Researches into the Family of (Sir) John Young(e) . . .," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

———. James Kimble Young, Jr., "Random Researches on the Thomas Young (1766-1840)-Mary Caldwell (1759-1831) Family of Augusta County, Virginia . . .," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

The 1880's and 1890's witnessed the establishment of numerous farm organizations throughout the Middle West. One of these was the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, a subordinate affiliate of which was the Hart Alliance of Henry County. The minutes of the latter organization from its inception on May 3, 1890, to August 6, 1891, were recently presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by M. E. Hoit of Geneseo, a descendant of the first secretary.

The minutes usually concern membership applications, with only a few reports of the actual proceedings, but they do contain resolutions that disclose the aims of the organization. The earliest was recorded on July 24, 1890, when it was moved, seconded, and carried "that we support no man for office who will accept bribes from the R. R. in the form of Free Passes Milage Tickets or any other form." On August 21 a committee was appointed to correspond with candidates for the legislature to ascertain their views on issuing free passes and mileage tickets, on regulating the service charges made by the Union Stockyards of Chicago, and on making Board of Trade "gambling" a criminal offense.

Problems within the organization arose quickly. As early as October, 1890, some officers were suspended for nonattendance, and it was decided that a fine of fifty cents for each offense would be imposed upon members who failed to perform their assigned duties. Even the president was cited for absences and instructed to be more regular in attendance. Despite these efforts, active membership dwindled until only seven of the total membership of thirty were present at the final meeting.

Besides the references to nonparticipation and the grievances concerning the railroads, stockyards, and Board of Trade, the only other item of major importance considered by the members is reported in the minutes for January 15, 1891. In a tersely worded paragraph the members of Hart Alliance expressed their opposition to woman suffrage as follows: "Communication from the petition com. of the Nat. Amer. Womans Suffrage Association asking us to petition Congress to present an amendment to the constitution, giving woman the right of suffrage to the people for approval or rejection. Carried we do not petition."

The minutes of the Atlanta (Illinois) Baptist Church for the period 1830 to 1865 have been

donated to the Historical Library by the Frank L. Bevan estate. Organized as the Big Grove Baptist Church in 1830, the congregation changed its name to the New Castle Baptist Church in 1839 and to Atlanta Baptist Church in 1854. The original membership of fourteen was opposed to missionary and benevolent institutions, but by August, 1838, the minutes state, "The Church agreed that her members should have their liberty of conscience respecting assisting their ministers or for missionary purposes if they chose." On October 5, 1839, the members pledged $100 for the support of an itinerant missionary in the field "that all may hear oftener of the Kingdom of Christ."

Religion was not the only subject in question at the meetings of the church. Alleged incidents of immoral behavior and illegal or unethical business practices were discussed and also adjudged by the congregation, the punishment for the guilty usually being "withdrawal of the right hand of fellowship and privileges of the church."

Evidence that social life for the members of the congregation was quite restricted appears in the minutes of December 3, 1864: "Sisters Elizabeth Strong, Margaret Hobbit and Elizabeth Turner we[re] appointed to visit May Hobbit and Mary Oneal. They wer[e] charged of having danced." On February 4, 1865, the committee reported that progress was being made with the culprits.

In another indictment a member was charged with profane swearing and disloyalty to the government of the United States. The latter charges, which provide the only reference in the minutes to the Civil War, were dropped later. It is strange that no direct reference was made to the war or to the death of Abraham Lincoln.

Mrs. Ray Arnold of Galesburg has contributed to the Library various Civil War records of Company G of the Thirty-ninth Illinois Infantry as well as letters received by its captain, Oscar F. Rudd, Mrs. Arnold's grandfather and a schoolteacher from Blue Island. Many of the letters to him concern civilian life during the war and contain all the information and gossip that the writer knew about Blue Island and neighboring communities. Two notes in 1863 deal with a plan Rudd proposed to General R. Saxton for the establishment of a regiment of Negro troops.

Several letters are acknowledgments of messages of condolence sent by Captain Rudd to the families of soldiers who died in battle. Most of the grieved parents responded sadly but nobly. Rudd's own family was not spared, for on July 11, 1864, he died of wounds suffered near Petersburg, Virginia.

BERNARD WAX

Book Reviews

CITIZEN OF NEW SALEM

By Paul Horgan; illustrations by Douglas Gorsline. (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy: New York, 1961. Pp. 90. $3.75.)

The *Citizen of New Salem,* the flatboatman, the store clerk, the captain, the candidate, is the story of seven years in the life of one of the world's most illustrious citizens. Paul Horgan has created a masterpiece for these years of the storekeeper, the postmaster, the assemblyman, the law student, and the attorney. The book, in format, is also a typographical thing of beauty with illustrations by Douglas Gorsline.

So beautifully written, illustrated, and bound is this little volume that to read and hold it in one's hands is an emotional experience. It is like beautiful poetry. Unique, too, among lives of Lincoln is the fact that his name never once appears in the text.

But it is more than just the story of the Citizen of New Salem. It is an idyl of pioneer days — the story of a prairie village that lasted but a few years, as many did that are now forgotten because they had no immortal citizen to make them famous. The Lincoln-Berry store was the only one in town finished with planed lumber.

It had a pitched roof of shakes and a leanto in back. At one side stood a log rail for hitching horses. The new store was much nearer to the river than the old one. The woods came up almost to it in the rear. Early in the morning before anyone stirred or smoke from new-fed fires showed out of chimneys, creatures ventured from the woods and came among the houses — cottontails, badgers, foxes, perhaps a deer. Crickets clicked more slowly with daylight, and bullfrogs spaced their gulps more widely. The drilling knock of a distant woodpecker sounded close. With darts of song, birds in the forest roof made a net of sound over all. Presently a door opened here, another there, and voices began to carry along the street of houses that enclosed the village on both sides. When the new daylight was strong enough to read by in the square board store with its two small windows, the storekeeper reached for his book. (Page 52.)

Citizen of the world Lincoln owed much to this tiny town:

New Salem had been his school, his academy, his college. There he had learned how to use language correctly and beautifully; how to speak and debate in public; how to study; how to plan towns; how to write laws by reading law; how to live amidst people and how to respect their common concerns and forgive their uncommon ones. There it was that he had left the forest and the river, which had also taught him

much, and had found the world. . . . In all his young life he had worked to overcome disadvantages, and as they enlarged, so did he, in spirit, patience and strength, among his neighbors of New Salem. They had suffered him when he suffered, and laughed for him when he reached for their funny-bones, and allowed him his hopes, and voted for him when he asked them to. As he was, so had New Salem helped to make him. (Pages 85-86.)

About this book the author says:

In honor of the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's first inauguration, the editors of the *Saturday Evening Post* asked me to write this essay in biography devoted to Lincoln's formative years as a young citizen of New Salem, Illinois. It is published as a book by their kind permission.

The published volume is truly a work of art.

S. A. WETHERBEE

LINCOLN IMAGES: AUGUSTANA COLLEGE CENTENNIAL ESSAYS

Edited by O. Fritiof Ander. (Augustana College Library: Rock Island, Ill., 1960. Pp. xiii, 161. $3.95.)

As many members and guests of the Illinois State Historical Society will recall with much pleasure, the 1960 Spring Tour of the Society was in the Moline—Rock Island area primarily to enable Illinoisans from over the state to join Augustana College in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of its founding. As a permanent contribution to the centennial observance, the Augustana College Library has sponsored publication of this attractive, worthwhile volume of seven essays on aspects of the Lincoln theme.

The editor of the collection, O. Fritiof Ander, professor of history at Augustana, tells of the relationship between Lincoln and the founders of the college and of the part of the emigrants from Sweden in the election of the Illinoisan in 1860. Many readers will learn for the first time that the first Scandinavian newspaper — there had been two brief unsuccessful prior ventures — to catch on and succeed in the United States was *Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya (The Old and the New Homeland)*, launched in Galesburg in 1855.

Hemlandet had a very close connection with the new Republican Party, which became active in the state in 1854, the year of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and entered on the national scene in 1856. Its editor, T. N. Hasselquist, a relative newcomer from Sweden, threw himself wholeheartedly into the Lincoln cause and when the Lincoln-Douglas debate was held at Knox College, October 7, 1858, the enthusiasm of the editor knew no bounds.

In 1860 *Hemlandet* took the lead in organizing railroad excur-

sion parties of recent immigrants to go from Galesburg, Bishop Hill, and elsewhere to Chicago to hear Senator William H. Seward of New York speak at a vast Republican rally.

Two other essays have special Illinois interest. One of these is by Ralph J. Roske, associate professor of history at Humboldt State College, California, who writes on the relations between Lincoln and Illinois Senator Lyman Trumbull. The other is by Robert M. Sutton, associate professor of history at the University of Illinois, a specialist in early Illinois transportation, whose theme is the little-known one of Lincoln and the railroads of Illinois.

Two essays are broadly based, that by Norman A. Graebner, professor of history at the University of Illinois, on "Lincoln and the National Interest," and that by T. Harry Williams, professor of history at Louisiana State University, on "Lincoln and the Causes of the Civil War."

The first of these two essays shows that Lincoln "practiced the art of the possible" in wielding the "nation's military and diplomatic power," while the second concludes that many elements went into the making of the Civil War — economic, political, social, and psychological — and that while the extremists helped hasten the coming of the crisis, it would have arrived without them.

The two last studies are by their nature substantially bibliographical. Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historian, presents a 28-page list of books and articles on Lincoln and associated subjects by major topics — abolition, Civil War, propaganda, the press, political philosophy, relations with Cabinet and Congress, and so on. Repeating the question raised twenty-five years ago by the late great Lincoln scholar James G. Randall — "Has the Lincoln Theme Been Exhausted?" — Walton says it will never be exhausted, but there is a danger that much of the Lincoln research "may develop into sheer antiquarianism."

Ernest M. Espelie, Augustana librarian, lists 265 titles of major books and periodicals on Lincoln in the Augustana library in the thought that it will be useful to know what a liberal arts college library with 100,000 volumes provides readily for its students in this field.

Espelie, who is general editor of Augustana Library Publications (this is No. 29), points out that there are a goodly number of Swedish names among the authors. Most famous of course is Carl Sandburg, to whom the book is dedicated as "a son of Swedish immigration." Other Swedish names among these Lincoln authors are Ahlberg, Ander, Grip, Hokanson, Oakleaf (Swedish equivalent Eklöf), Olson, Skarstedt, and Wikberg.

Augustana's president, Conrad Bergendoff, in his foreword, does well to underscore Hasselquist's triple-threat career, for this newcomer was not only editor of *Hemlandet* but first pastor of the church of the Swedish community in Galesburg and president of Augustana College for a quarter-century. In the belief that a man of such diverse talent ought to be known by his full name this reviewer has looked it up. "T. N." stood for Tufve Nilsson.

IRVING DILLIARD
Collinsville

THE HIDDEN FACE OF THE CIVIL WAR
By Otto Eisenschiml. (Bobbs-Merrill Co.: Indianapolis, 1961. Pp. 319. $5.00.)

The literature of these centennial years of the Civil War has taken many forms — diaries of public figures and private soldiers, studies of individual battles and of the entire military history of the war, and so on. It seems inevitable and somehow fitting that attention should be directed to the strategy employed by both sides and to an appraisal of the accomplishments of those leaders who either formulated or carried out grand strategy. The man who has taken this task upon himself is Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, author, co-author, or editor of seven other works dealing with the general theme of the Civil War.

Both Lincoln and Davis come away from Eisenschiml's appraisal with little to recommend them as master strategists. To Lincoln's credit is the fact that, after selecting numerous misfits, he found a general who could win battles and stood by him to ultimate victory. Davis, who buried himself under military details to the detriment of his duties as chief executive of the Confederacy, made the mistake of "trying to defend every inch of the Confederate territory." To accomplish this goal, "he divided the South into military districts, each with its own garrison, the commanding general of which had to report directly to the President." It was an impossible plan, particularly when many of the western districts were placed in the hands of men such as Holmes, Huger, and Magruder, whom Lee had found wanting in ability in the Peninsular Campaign.

Eisenschiml is correct in criticizing the Confederacy's decision to move its capital from Montgomery to Richmond. This meant that the capitals of both sides were some one hundred miles apart and their proximity greatly restricted the mobility of both major eastern armies throughout the war.

Many readers will find the third section of the book the most interesting. Here the author appraises the performance of the

more prominent commanders of both sides and ranks them by assigning "stars" on the basis of the quality of their work. In recent years, "Pap" Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," has gained deserved recognition for his accomplishments at Stone's River, Chickamauga, and Nashville, and Eisenschiml ranks him above all other Union generals.

The author notes that McClellan doesn't inspire neutrality: "One is either for him or against him." To his everlasting credit, McClellan drilled, organized, and gave *esprit de corps* to an army that Grant was to lead to ultimate victory. However, even in possession of Special Order No. 191, McClellan was unable to capitalize on the dispersion of Lee's forces. In piecemeal attacks that Lee was able to blunt by moving his troops about the field as each attack was made, McClellan frittered away his opportunity to destroy the Army of Northern Virginia. Dr. Eisenschiml summarizes McClellan's accomplishments by stating that "his performance cannot be assessed precisely, because he was not given an opportunity to test his generalship under conditions that had been specified by himself, had been promised to him, but had never been complied with." The author here is referring to the Peninsular Campaign, during which Lincoln kept troops to defend Washington that had been previously promised to "Little Mac." Unfortunately, McClellan was deceived into believing he was greatly outnumbered by Lee's forces when actually he had an advantage of some ten to fifteen thousand men over Lee. A review of his correspondence with Lincoln prior to the Seven Days' Battle makes it difficult to believe that McClellan would ever have felt that he had sufficient manpower to achieve victory over the Army of Northern Virginia.

Despite the fact that Lee was able to keep the Army of Northern Virginia in the field for four long years, Eisenschiml assigns him a rating commensurate with McClellan's on the Union side. He censures Lee for his excessive combativeness at Antietam and Gettysburg. However, Lee's invasion of the North that culminated at Antietam had goals that would have been thrown away if he had not attempted to defeat the Union Army: recognition of the Confederacy by France and England; a negotiated peace, with an independent South surviving the war; winning the support of the people of Maryland, where sympathy for the Confederacy was strong. Lee erred in overruling the defensive-minded Longstreet in giving battle at Gettysburg; victory would have been possible on the first day if Jackson had survived Chancellorsville to push the fighting late in the day (as an indecisive Ewell refused to do). Once Hood had

lost the struggle to seize Little Round Top on the afternoon of the second day, the battle shouldn't have been joined again on July 3. Eisenschiml properly notes that "a Confederate triumph at Gettysburg would not have won the war in any conceivable circumstance." In this reader's viewpoint, Lee more than redeemed himself for his eagerness to fight at Gettysburg through his masterful campaign in the Wilderness and in the dying days of the Confederacy.

This is a book with whose statements you may find yourself in frequent disagreement. However, Dr. Eisenschiml's intent has always been to make the reader reach his own conclusions. He has the boldness to present his own beliefs but does so in such a way that the reader never feels compelled to accept them as his own unless he reaches them himself in a completely independent analysis. *The Hidden Face of the Civil War* will not hide anything from the reader's eyes if Dr. Eisenschiml can help it, and he does a good job of keeping those eyes alert and searching for the truth.

C. R. Douglas
Chicago

FATHER ABRAHAM'S CHILDREN

By Frank B. Woodford. (Wayne State University Press: Detroit, Mich., 1961. Pp. 321. $6.50.)

The story of Michigan's participation in the Civil War is told with pride and warmth by journalist-biographer Woodford. In the first chapter the author fulfills his statistical obligations. He informs us, for example, that 90,048 Michigan men went off to war and "participated in at least 802 battles and skirmishes." But this is one Civil War book in which the only important figures are human beings.

Leading the parade of valiant Michiganders are the Underground Railroad "engineers" of 1847. They transported and protected Negro fugitives so effectively that "in the end slave owners and their agents just weren't safe in Michigan, and many negroes found it unnecessary to go to Canada. They found refuge in small towns and in the country, and members of various protective associations formed in the South to recover escaped slaves found it hazardous to interfere with those who sought sanctuary in Michigan."

Among the more flamboyant Michigan leaders was General George A. Custer, a resident of Monroe. A marvelous description of Custer enables the reader to visualize the General commanding the Michigan Cavalry Brigade and defeating Confederate General

Jeb Stuart at Gettysburg. Private Franklin Thompson of the Second Michigan Infantry must have been even more unusual in appearance than General Custer. Private Thompson was a woman, Sarah Emma Edmonds. Miss Edmonds's claim to have served with the Second Michigan was authenticated to the satisfaction of the GAR, which allowed her the distinction of being the only woman to receive full membership in that organization.

The explosion and sinking of the *Sultana* is vividly described by several Michigan survivors of the tragedy. An account of the Battle of the Crater, another Union disaster, is interesting because of the tribute to the Michigan men. Although other Union troops were judged harshly for their part in the battle, there was, according to Woodford, "no censure for the Michigan regiments. It was universally agreed they conducted themselves with brave distinction."

Michigan's last Civil War veteran, Orlando LeValley, died on April 19, 1948, at the age of ninety-nine. In addition to these paladins, there are many other colorful individuals and groups described as representative of the Wolverine State in the fight to preserve the Union. Woodford's account of Michigan's impressive record in the Civil War makes one almost wonder if Illinois and the other Union forces served only as a supporting cast for Michigan's heroes.

The book is attractive and well illustrated. Regarding his method of source citation, Woodford explains: "I have gathered together in the Appendix detailed information and documentation which would interrupt the flow of the narrative but which may be helpful to readers with a special interest in certain events or personalities."

Michiganders can thank themselves, Frank B. Woodford, and the Ford Foundation for this very readable entry in the Civil War book race.

Helene Levene
Springfield

"PORTE CRAYON": THE LIFE OF DAVID HUNTER STROTHER

By Cecil D. Eby, Jr. (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1960. Pp. 258. $5.00.)

David Hunter Strother was an artist, writer, soldier, and diplomat, but unfortunately he lived during a period (1816-1888) and in a place (now the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia) that prevented him from having a lifetime career in any of these fields.

Strother is best remembered as "Porte Crayon," the author-illustrator of a series of travel articles that appeared in *Harper's New*

Monthly Magazine in the decade before the Civil War. In fact, he became one of the most popular and highest paid of the contributors to what was the *Life* magazine of his time. But with the war came a loss of interest in such articles that was never revived.

Earlier he had studied art under Samuel F. B. Morse and had spent three years (1840-1843) in Europe, principally in Rome, copying the old masters. On his return he learned that the market was limited for portraitists and practically nonexistent for other painters. That was when he began to illustrate books for others and eventually to illustrate his own writings.

Porte Crayon was the first reporter to arrive on the scene at Harpers Ferry after John Brown's raid, and he enjoyed special privileges at the trial because the judge, Richard Parker, was his friend and the prosecuting attorney, Andrew Kennedy, was his uncle. *Harper's Weekly* published his reports despite their pro-status-quo tone until it received his account of Brown's hanging. That was first published in *American Heritage* in February, 1955.

Actually, Strother was neither an abolitionist nor a secessionist, and when the war came he wrote, "There is not a moral or political principle insisted on by either side which can not be more advantageously settled by reason and forbearance."

His friends, relatives, and neighbors were divided, and he himself finally "felt like a sane man in a mad house." When he found he could no longer remain a neutral, he volunteered (on July 9, 1861) to serve the Union Army as an unpaid civilian; later he joined the army and received a commission as a captain. His familiarity with the Virginia campaign areas and his map-drawing ability were very valuable. During the war he served on the staffs of Generals Banks, McClellan, Pope, Hunter, and Benjamin F. Kelley and rose in rank until he was finally a brevet brigadier general. Most of his service was in or near Virginia, but late in 1862 he went with Banks to New Orleans, where he remained until the following spring.

Strother was blamed for much wanton destruction during Hunter's Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1864, but his biographer shows that the opposite was true: when anything was saved, it was due to Strother's efforts. The two men David Hunter and David Hunter Strother were distant cousins, and the similarity in names led to confusion, which was not helped by the fact that the latter was the former's chief of staff. Nor was the situation improved later when Strother, through loyalty to a superior officer, refused to defend himself.

Strother resigned from the army in the late summer of 1864 and

the following summer was named adjutant general of Virginia, only to resign in about six months. During the next thirteen years he made frequent unsuccessful attempts to revive his reputation as a writer-illustrator. He also tried hotel-keeping and lecturing, and even edited a weekly newspaper for a short time. His fortunes finally took a turn for the better in 1879, when he was appointed consul general to Mexico City. The highlight of his six years there was a visit by former President U. S. Grant in 1880. (See Summer, 1959, *Journal,* pages 229-47.) He accumulated a mass of notes in Mexico, and when he left in 1885 he took them back with him to the Shenandoah Valley. There, in the winter of 1887-1888, he rented an abandoned law office, on the courthouse lawn in Charles Town, as a place to put his notes into articles, but he did not get around to it before death overtook him.

Porte Crayon knew Lincoln, Grant and a dozen other Union generals, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Washington Irving, and many lesser literary figures, but he wrote very little about them. Only one book of his writings was published during his lifetime (*Virginia Illustrated,* New York, 1857), and another was issued recently (*The Old South Illustrated,* Cecil D. Eby, Jr., ed., Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1959). The rest of his work is scattered through fifty years of newspapers and magazines. One appendix to this biography is a five-page listing of these published articles; another is a listing of journals, notes, and correspondence. There is also a thirteen-page bibliography of material about Strother and an adequate index.

One fault can be found with this book: it is not long enough. The biographer is an assistant professor of English (at Washington and Lee University) and naturally chose to emphasize Porte Crayon's literary career, but in the available notes and journals there must be enough material for several more books — at least one about the Civil War and perhaps another about Mexico. H.F.R.

LAST CIVIL WAR VETERAN IN FIFTY STATES
By Clarence Stewart Peterson. (Baltimore, Md., 1961. Mimeographed. Pp. 39.)

Lieutenant Peterson is a very prolific report writer. On page 4 of this booklet he lists the titles of his thirty other publications dating from 1935 to the present. Among the titles are *Bibliography of County Histories of the 2980 Counties in the 48 States,* 1935; *America's Rune Stone,* 1946; and *Known Dead in the Great Blizzard in Minnesota in 1873,* 1958.

Reflecting the author's interest

in numbers and lists, this pamphlet is crammed with unusual statistical data. An introduction, several pages in length, is devoted to aggregate statistics concerning the number of troops, Union losses by states, and Confederate numerical facts. There follows a list of states, North and South, with the name and record of the last Civil War veteran to die in each. When possible, the author includes individual state statistics such as the number of white and Negro troops and the losses and number of men buried in each state's national cemeteries.

Illinois' last veteran was Lewis Fablinger of the Twenty-first, Ninety-sixth, and 140th Illinois Infantry. He died on March 14, 1950, at the age of 103. Born in Frederick, Maryland, Fablinger entered the service from Hanover, Illinois, and later settled near Elizabeth.

Other Illinois facts include the following: "Illinois gave the fourth highest number of men and the third highest losses of all states in the Union Army. In the four Ill. National Cemeteries burials by 1908 totalled: Camp Butler 1,362; part confederate, Mound City, 5,235; Rock Island, 308; Quincy, 222."

The concluding seven pages of the pamphlet are devoted to the "Songs of the Confederate Forces on Land and Sea." Preceding each song is a brief description of the events that led to its writing. The booklet is unique and a must for those fascinated by Civil War minutiae.

HELENE LEVENE

SARA TEASDALE: A BIOGRAPHY
By Margaret Haley Carpenter. (Schulte Publishing Company: New York City, 1960. Pp. xix, 377. $7.50.)

THE SPECTRA HOAX
By William Jay Smith. (Wesleyan University Press: Middletown, Conn., 1961. Pp. ix, 158. $3.50.)

Neither of these books is about Illinois but both have an Illinois connection, and many readers of the *Journal* will find these Illinois connections of unusual interest.

The first title is a truly superior biography, the first full-length study of the poetess Sara Teasdale (1884-1933), who was born in St. Louis, lived much of her life there, and is buried in the family plot in St. Louis. Yet for many a page Miss Carpenter's sensitive, definitive book is as much about Vachel Lindsay (1879-1931) as it is about Sara Teasdale.

For she and the troubadour poet of Springfield were epistolary friends for several years, and they might well have married. The author includes letters from one to the other, and the correspond-

ence tells a great deal about both. The letters shine with wit and gaiety and lightheartedness. An idea of how much fun their exchanges were can be gathered from the closing paragraphs of a Vachel Lindsay letter dated November 8, 1913, and addressed "Excellent Rascal — Sara Teasdale":

As for New York — get away from there. Go back home and write poems about St. Louis. If all the prodigal sons and daughters who were gathered there would return to their native hearths, America would be remade in a generation. Temperament set atremble in that exotic air has nothing to do with cornfed America.

Come back through Springfield and visit Mama and Papa and little sister. Can't you scrape up a girl friend in Springfield to visit? We will go out and write poetry in red chalk on the State House walk, where he who runs may read. That will be a conjunction of planets, and a fine thing for the populace.

Well — I wrote you a long silly letter and tore it up. You shouldn't — you shouldn't — well you know what you shouldn't.

All that I have to say is that you are either a very *young,* or a very *frivolous* young woman. Take *that.*

Very distantly yours,

Sara Teasdale's correspondent

Nicholas Vachel Lindsay

Later came letters expressing deepest esteem and admiration, and yet still for a long time they had not met. They exchanged poems and books, and when Vachel Lindsay published *The Chinese Nightingale and Other Poems,* it was dedicated to "Sara Teasdale, Poet." In the back of her personal copy he wrote a poem, "Dancing for a Prize," and illustrated it. In the front he inscribed an acrostic poem, "To Sara Teasdale the Unforgotten." It begins:

This book is yours, the faults and all,
O Lady of the golden shawl: . . . .

There is an unusually fine photograph of Vachel Lindsay in the year 1913, which has never before been published in a book. It was provided for this book by Eleanor Ruggles, who wrote the recent Vachel Lindsay biography, *The West-Going Heart.* Actually there are other Illinois connections in this book, because Sara Teasdale became associated with Harriet Monroe (1860-1936), founder and long the editor of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse.* Miss Monroe appears thirty times or more.

The second title above tells the story of one of the oddest affairs in the history of American letters — the hoax worked on the literary world beginning in the autumn of 1916 by two poets, Witter Bynner and Arthur Davison Ficke. They created two make-believe, previously unknown literary figures, Emanuel Morgan and Anne Knish, the latter a beautiful, tempestuous native of Budapest, the two of them residents of Pittsburgh.

This fancied pair of poets broke on the literary scene in the midst of World War I through a book titled *Spectra: A Book of Poetic Experiments,* which presented their poetic efforts, as, for example, Morgan's "Ease":

I have escaped into the hump of a
dromedary,
There to be flopped along
With no responsibility.

and Anne Knish's "Opus 181," which begins

Skeptical cat,
Calm your eyes, and come to me.
For long ago, in some palm-ed
forest,
I too felt claws curling curling
Within my fingers. . . .

The Illinois connection? Oh, yes. In 1916 Arthur Davison Ficke and his wife lived in Davenport, Iowa, and were visited by Witter Bynner. They talked about the absurdity of some of the new "schools" in poetry and so undertook the hoax to have some fun with the extremists. The author, William Jay Smith, poet in residence at Williams College, tells the Illinois connection, as follows:

> The personalities of the mythical writers became more clearly outlined in proportion to the "spectra" or "spectrics" produced; and these were written at a fast clip. In fact, so absorbed did the poets become in their productions that the constant composition and recitation of Spectric verse became too much for Mrs. Ficke. She ordered the pair out of the house until they had finished their manuscript. They retired to a hotel across the river in Moline, Illinois, where as Arthur Davison Ficke put it, from ten quarts of excellent Scotch in ten days they extracted the whole of Spectric Philosophy.

Witter Bynner confessed the hoax in 1918, when asked point-blank, at a public lecture in Detroit, the question as to authorship. There were a lot of red faces among the critics who had taken Emanuel Morgan and Anne Knish and their output seriously.

IRVING DILLIARD

THE MAYFIELD DEER

By Mark Van Doren. (Hill and Wang, Inc., Publishers: New York, 1959. Pp. 152. $3.95.)

A conversation with a close friend and an article in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1907* were the basis for Mark Van Doren's narrative poem *The Mayfield Deer.* The present edition is the result of extensive revision and condensation, but despite the diminution in content the great epic qualities of the original work remain.

The plot is one of murder, revenge, and reconciliation. A tame deer, raised and nurtured by John Richman, is killed by Seth Galliday who wants the trinkets worn by the animal for his beloved. Richman, a gnarled, self-sufficient

frontiersman, learns of the crime and murders young Galliday. Seth's brother David in turn violently kills Richman and is in turn endangered by Richman's son seeking revenge. At the last moment reason prevails and the carnage ends. The story concludes on an optimistic note with the end of rancor and the possibility of a new love affair between Seth's love, Nancy, and Richman's son, Daniel.

Although the tale is depicted as taking place in nineteenth-century Illinois, it could conceivably have occurred at any time or any place in human history.

The vivid description of men, nature, and life on the frontier provides the basis for historical interest in this work. A prime example is the magnificent word-picture of John Richman: "There was no man like him in Mayfield, no man/Drifted as he was, pure, from antique time/Long rifle, knitted cap, green-white, and the loose belt/Strung with a powder horn; clear walnut clothes/Leggins and pouch, and knife, and tomahawk."

This reviewer is willing to accede to Andre Maurois' jacket statement: "Here is a beautiful poem, simple and strong, with all the subtlety of a novel and all the greatness of an epic."

Bernard Wax

NORTH CENTRAL COLLEGE: A CENTURY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION, 1861-1961

By Clarence N. Roberts. (North Central College: Naperville, Ill., 1960. Pp. x, 318. $4.00.)

Clarence N. Roberts, chairman of the department of history at North Central College, has produced a history of the first hundred years of the institution founded by the Evangelical Association of North America that should be put on the must-read list of all alumni and friends of that college. It is a valuable source for the historian or student of the larger subject, church-related liberal arts colleges in the Mississippi Valley. The multitudinous details may sometimes lessen interest for the casual or general reader, but on the whole the book can be recommended as a rainy afternoon's entertainment.

The liability for the general reader is an asset for alumni and friends. An appendix lists all present and past boards of directors, members of the faculty, financial agents, treasurers, and graduates by year from 1866 to 1960. The pages are filled with names and human interest anecdotes.

One suspects that the financial ups and downs, curricular evolutions, campus politics, good and bad administrations, and faculty

members who stand out because of inspiring work or some fascinating idiosyncracy can be matched in the experiences of similar institutions supported by other churches. The triumphs, tragedies, and comedies of the campus have been made to live again in the pages of this book.

The author combed through an amazingly full collection of source materials and has organized his data around five chronological periods in the college's history. He begins with the founding of the college at Plainfield on faith and determination but hardly a shoestring of financial support. Next comes the story of the early struggles and progress after the college moved to its present location at Naperville in 1870. In the transition period, 1888-1916, the school began to shed the attributes of an academy and take on the shape of a college. The history of the next thirty years, 1916-1946, concentrates on the growth of the plant, student body, faculty, and endowment. In spite of the depression, which closed so many small church-related colleges, North Central survived and at the end of World War II was a strong, live institution, which has continued to keep pace with growing enrollments and rising costs.

Unlike so many histories of this type, this book has not excluded the world beyond the ivory towers. Depressions, panics, wars, political campaigns, and intellectual movements always provide the background for the story of the college.

The author deserves compliments for this work, as does the college administration for selecting an author who had already demonstrated his ability with his *History of the University of Missouri School of Mines and Metallurgy.*

HOMER CLEVENGER
Lindenwood College

NEBRASKA PLACE-NAMES

By Lilian L. Fitzpatrick. (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1960. Pp. 227. $1.50.)

This newest Bison Book is a reprint of Miss Fitzpatrick's study that originally appeared in 1925 in the University of Nebraska's series of "Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism." It gives the origin of the names of Nebraska's ninety-three counties and of 1,234 cities and towns in the state — less than this reviewer has found in Cook and St. Clair counties, Illinois, alone in his work on a similar project for Illinois. The arrangement by counties makes it difficult for a non-Nebraskan to locate a particular name: *e.g.,* for Lincoln one turns to the index and finds that Lincoln is in Lan-

caster County. He then turns back to the main body of the work and, leafing through, finds Lancaster County on page 90 and Lincoln on page 92. But when he has found it, there is nothing to indicate that Lincoln is any larger than — to take a few names from the same page at random — Emerald, Firth, Jamaica, or Malcolm.

This reprint also includes John T. Link's *The Origin of the Place Names of Nebraska,* which originally appeared in 1933 as a *Bulletin* of the Nebraska Geological Survey. This deals entirely with the names of natural features: rivers, lakes, bluffs, valleys, and the like. G. Thomas Fairclough says in his introduction that Link had worked on the derivation of over ten thousand Nebraska place names, but published only this segment. As copies of his files are in the Nebraska State Historical Society and the University of Nebraska, someone would do a good job for the state by updating and publishing the remainder of Link's work.

Miss Fitzpatrick's portion of the book has a five-page bibliography and the type of index specified above. There is no clue to where any name may be found in Link's portion. The book is well bound for a paperback, and has no more than the usual quota of typographical errors.

J. N. A.

INDIANA ELECTION RETURNS, 1816-1851

Compiled by Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough. (*Indiana Historical Collections,* Vol. XL. Indiana Historical Bureau: Indianapolis, 1960. Pp. xxv, 493. $7.50.)

Normally the research worker does not expect to have his materials so nicely laid out for him. This volume, however, has been issued by the Indiana Historical Bureau in response to frequent inquiries about election returns. More particularly, it deals with the elections from the beginnings of the state of Indiana in 1816 and covers the period of the first constitution, which lasted until 1851.

Included are the vote statistics for presidential electors, governors and lieutenant governors, members of the General Assembly, congressmen, United States senators, and delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851. The compilation is based on returns sent by county clerks to the secretary of state, and admittedly it is not complete, especially for the earlier years. Wherever possible these returns have been supplemented by newspaper sources.

The introduction is very interesting and contains a brief political history of the state, ending with the new constitution, which went into effect November 1, 1851.

The index is especially well done, and includes every person named in the book, the office for which he ran, and the year of the election.

The staffs of the State Archives and local, school, and state libraries will no doubt be especially thankful for this volume, as it will reduce their labors no end. And for researchers — no more dirty hands and crumbling bits of paper!

WARREN A. REEDER, JR.
Hammond, Indiana

THE VOICE OF THE COYOTE, by J. Frank Dobie, illustrated by Olaus J. Murie; THE POPULIST REVOLT, by John D. Hicks; CRAZY HORSE, by Mari Sandoz. (All in the Bison Book series. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1961.)

The University of Nebraska Press is to be congratulated for making available, in paper covers, such influential, enjoyable, and intriguing works as these at such low prices. *The Voice of the Coyote,* a reprint of the much earlier sixth printing, costs but $1.40; *The Populist Revolt,* still a significant contribution to American history, was first published in 1931 and in this Bison Book edition is priced at $1.75; *Crazy Horse,* that classic study of the magnificent Oglalla, appeared in 1942 and is available now for $1.65. This reviewer looks forward to the next titles in the series — these are real bargains!

C.C.W.

TOBACCO AND AMERICANS
By Robert K. Heimann. (McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, 1960. Pp. 265. $7.50.)

This highly readable history of America's oldest industry should be of interest to the many Illinoisans who consume their quota of the half-trillion cigarettes smoked annually in the United States. From the pre-Columbian medicinal use of tobacco to the mid-twentieth-century lung-cancer scare — with statistics from the United States Public Health Service and the University of North Carolina tending to prove the latter unfounded — Heimann traces the story of its various forms, from snuff through "chaw," pipe tobacco, and cigars to the cigarette, which at present makes up the preponderance of the tobacco business.

The Jamestown colonists knew of tobacco before they left England, and within five years of the founding of the colony John Rolfe (husband of Pocahontas) had introduced the large-leaved *Nico-*

tiana tabacum of New Spain, "known to be verie vendible in England," to replace the native small-leaved *Nicotiana rustica,* and was shipping tobacco to England. By 1619 Virginia's share of the London tobacco market exceeded the imports from the Spanish colonies, and with the introduction of Negro slave labor in the same year tobacco cultivation expanded until it formed the economic basis of the development of the colonies from Maryland south. In fact, production increased to such an extent that the market was glutted and prices fell to a loss level; Britain's veto of America's first attempt at "planned economy" by acreage limitation was perhaps equally responsible with the Stamp Act and the Townshend tea tax for the colonists' successful bid both for economic and political independence.

Growing crops of tobacco on the same soil year after year deteriorated the land and, consequently, the quality of the product; tobacco culture therefore began to expand westward, first into the Piedmont and later into the Mississippi Valley. "Egypt" was settled by southerners, and the *herbe de l'ambassadeur* is still an appreciable factor in southern Illinois economy, though the Prairie State as a whole is too far north to be a major tobacco center. With the growth of domestic manufacture, small cigar-making shops started up all over the country, and most Illinois cities of any size and age have had one or more of these shops. On a larger scale was August Beck and Company's four-story Eureka Tobacco Works at 392-394 Dearborn Street, Chicago. "Dinah's Big Quarters," "Eye-Opener" and "To Please the Boys" were some of the brands of chewing tobacco to come from the Windy City.

But centralization was at hand. Sherman's and Johnston's troops, idling about Durham, North Carolina, in 1865, waiting for approval of the final surrender terms, became acquainted with "Bull Durham" and demanded the same quality of tobacco when they scattered to their homes. "Drummers" helped make Tarheel State tobacco the standard of comparison, and on the dissolution of the tobacco trust in 1911 the few firms financially able to compete in the market made their headquarters in the Durham—Winston-Salem area, close to the source of their major supply. Aided by modern salesmanship and distribution methods, the "Big Six" — Reynolds, American, Liggett and Myers, Lorillard, Philip Morris, and Brown and Williamson — achieved a practical monopoly of the market, which continues today.

Along with the main story, Heimann gives fascinating side-

lights on such subjects as the rise and decline of the cigar-store Indian; Lucy Page Gaston's anti-cigarette campaign (which, incidentally, was responsible for the first appearance on the platform and in print of a high-school boy named Adlai Stevenson); Governor Willem Kieft's attempt to prohibit smoking in Nieuw Amsterdam, which resulted in the first picket line in history and in several famous passages in *Knickerbocker's History of New York;* gifts of tobacco as "life insurance" for Lewis and Clark and their contemporary explorers; the Indian "pipe of peace"; Bizet's cigarette-girl heroine Carmen and the "seegarito"-puffing señoritas of Santa Fé; and tobacco's contribution to government revenue, from the 80 per cent surtax of the first Civil War excise law to the two-and-a-half-billion-dollar revenue of 1958.

The illustrations — more than three hundred, according to the claim on the jacket, with which this reviewer is not inclined to disagree — add both interest and clarification to the text. (Devotees of Anthony Comstock, however, should be warned against two very frank illustrations in the first chapter, reproduced from André Thevet's book issued in 1557.) There is a two-page chronology, a two-page bibliography, which makes no claims to completeness, and an adequate six-page index. J.N.A.

THE CALUMET REGION: INDIANA'S LAST FRONTIER
By Powell A. Moore. (*Indiana Historical Collections,* Vol. XXXIX. Indiana Historical Bureau: Indianapolis, 1959. Pp. xiii, 654. $6.00.)

"I had to write a book about the Calumet. One would have thought that the history of Indiana stopped at the Kankakee River. Historians of Indiana have neglected the northwestern corner of the State." This, in brief, was Dr. Moore's reason for writing his history of our Lake and Porter counties.

Representing ten years of labor ("all that I can remember is that my twins were in the third grade when I started and in their sophomore year of college when I finished"), this book presents the history of the Calumet area and its fascinating development and growth, from the days of La Salle and Marquette until about 1935.

The "Calumet Area" as defined in the book is that part of Lake and Porter counties that lies north of the continental divide. The divide enters Lake County from the west slightly south of Dyer and follows (roughly) U. S. Route 30 to Valparaiso, thus embracing the fascinating Valparaiso Moraine, subject of geological investigators the world over. Within this area lie Gary, Hammond, and East Chicago — the top industrial cities — and the towns of Munster, Valparaiso, Highland, St. John,

Schererville, and East Gary.

Prior to about 1850 the predominant Indian tribes in the area were members of the Potawatomi group, with their interesting chiefs, the Pokagons. The only evidences of their culture are the occasional arrowheads found in ever decreasing numbers along the former high sand ridges used as trails, such as Fifteenth Avenue in Gary, 165th Street in Hammond, or Michigan City Road in Calumet City, Illinois.

The first white men in the area were the French, mainly fur traders and occasional missionaries, such as Marquette. These men did not have established settlements in mind, although the first permanent white resident was one of their countrymen — Joe Bailly, who settled near Chesterton. Thus the lesser populated county of Porter has the honor of first attracting men who came to stay. Baillytown is still in existence.

Although the French had full sway from 1675 to 1763, they made little impression in the area. The English had their day, from 1763 to 1783. Even the Spanish flag flew briefly during pitched battles between that country and the English in the area known as the Dunes.

After the Revolutionary War came the log cabin era, which actually lasted until 1852. The first white settler in Lake County was William Ross, 1833, followed closely by George Earle.

The word "Calumet" evidently has to do with the Indian peace pipes and the reeds from which they were made, which grew profusely along the marshy edges of our famous river, the Calumet. Its southern branch has been valuable commercially — providing clay for brick, moulding sand, commercial sand, and formerly some peat. Even the soils through which it meanders produce fine specialty crops, such as onions.

In 1836 the federal government purchased the last of this land from the Potawatomi. However, most of it was classified as swampland and was not released to the state of Indiana until 1850. In 1837 Porter and Lake counties were formed out of La Porte County. The earliest industry in the area came in 1839, when the Buel brothers started a blacksmith and wagon shop in Valparaiso. By 1845 there was a thriving brick industry at Hobart. And from 1850 onward the history of the Calumet area becomes almost imperceptibly the history of the cities and towns that comprise it.

The chapter on Hammond is titled "Hammond: Dressed Beef and Germans." Ernst Hohman was the first settler here of note, starting with forty acres of land that he later ran up to 700 acres. Hohman dreamed of a harbor at Lake Michigan, 111 years ago, as many were to dream after him, but it is yet to come. By 1850 there were only ninety-seven peo-

ple in the area. An unusual characteristic of the population (as shown by the census of that year) was its extreme youthfulness — 93 per cent were under twenty years of age, and a majority of these were under ten.

The rustic existence of hunting, fishing, and farming was suddenly changed in 1869. By 1851 the Michigan Central and the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railroads had reached the area, and this set the stage for the "Painless Industrial Revolution," as Dr. Moore terms it. This was begun by the entry of George H. Hammond, who, although never a resident of his namesake town, placed it on the industrial path with the G. H. Hammond Packing Company in 1869. Foreseeing tremendous possibilities in the shipment of refrigerated meat to all parts of the United States, he selected Hammond because of the "sweet waters of the Grand Calumet River."

Actually, the pattern for most of the industrial development in the Calumet Area was forced upon it by the city of Chicago. The latter ran out of desirable industrial lake-front land in the boom that followed the Civil War. The new plants did not go north, possibly because of a lack of good railroad facilities, but instead moved to northwestern Indiana.

To Whiting came the Standard Oil Company. Many fascinating stories are told by Dr. Moore of the creation of an oil refinery in this sandy waste, which was so isolated that during the great rail strike of the 1890's the inhabitants almost starved to death and had to toil through the sand to Chicago for food.

East Chicago was geographically next, and, oddly, it owes its start to Whiting. The refinery needed oil storage tanks and the Graver Tank Corporation was set up to meet that need. The Inland Steel Company did not arrive on the scene until 1901.

One chapter is devoted to the founding and history of Gary. Armour, Swift, and Morris, big Chicago meat packers, apparently thought at one time they might settle in the Gary area because of labor troubles in Chicago. They purchased large tracts of land in the Gary region but never used them. Later, Armanis F. Knotts, a former mayor of Hammond, was assigned the task of acquiring these holdings for the Gary Land Company. He spent $7,200,000 for 9,000 acres, including seven miles of lake front, and hardly a soul knew of his mission until it was accomplished.

Labor and labor troubles rate a whole chapter, with 1919, "The Year of Strikes," being given detailed attention. In that year Carl Sandburg was prompted to write one of his epics, "The Mayor of Gary." U.S. troops and state militia were both quartered at Gary, and the militia were also

brought to East Chicago, although it seemed rather unnecessary. The worst situation developed at Hammond, after the militia had left. There, a pitched battle between strikers of the Standard Steel Car Company and city and plant police was fought on the sand dunes at Columbia and Highland streets, resulting in the death of four and the wounding of an estimated fifty. The companies won all the immediate battles, but the unions won in the long run. The hated twelve-hour shift, seven days per week (this meant twenty-four hours without relief on the changeovers from the night to the day shift) had been entirely abandoned for eight-hour shifts by 1925.

In population, Dr. Moore reports, "The Calumet region is a mixing bowl and not a melting pot." The Germans, Swedes, Irish, Dutch, Italians, Slavs, Hungarians, Jews (Russian), and the Poles came in that order. Many of the early arrivals were pathetically poverty-stricken: one of these groups, in the 1905-1909 period, averaged only $14.60 per person upon their arrival at Ellis Island, and 54 per cent of another group were illiterate. During World War I a large number of Negro laborers were recruited from the southern states, and following them came the Mexicans. (During the depression years, 3,300 of the latter were voluntarily returned to their homeland.)

A chapter on the astonishing growth and development of Valparaiso University is particularly interesting, especially in view of its recent resurgence of strength. The latter part of the book contains a chapter on "Politics, Prohibition and Depression," dealing most candidly with a sordid portion of our background.

The last chapter — on the Dunes — is, no doubt, Dr. Moore's favorite, since he has long been a resident there. Herein he expresses the spirit of the Dunes lover, together with the factual record. Here is the ever tantalizing true story of the hermitess, "Diana of the Dunes." The part the Dunes played in the early motion picture industry was important and entertaining. Imagine an actor clad in leopard skin and brandishing a huge club, for his part in a movie, lost in the Dunes and frightening the local inhabitants no end in his frantic attempts to find his way back to civilization. Then, too, there was an almost forgotten episode of Indiana history: horse racing! This was an ill-fated venture at Mineral Springs near Chesterton.

Anyone interested in the history of the Calumet area — or in an interpretation of the present complex of the world's greatest single industrial concentration — should find Dr. Moore's book a fascinating and invaluable source.

Warren A. Reeder, Jr.

News and Comment

Sterling Wins Major Student Historian Honors

Illinois' thirteenth annual Student Historian Day, May 19, might appropriately have been called "Sterling Day" because of the number of that city's student historians honored and the number of top awards they received.

Five of the group of twenty-six presented Student Historian of the Year Awards by Governor Otto Kerner in the State Fairgrounds ceremonies were from Sterling. This was the largest number for any of the sixteen communities represented (Chicago and Normal had three each). Two of the five Sterling winners then took half of the year's four top honors.

Student Historian of the Year Awards are based upon articles published during the school year in *Illinois History* magazine, which is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society. Winners of the four top awards, which are given by interested groups or individuals, receive a special certificate plus $25 in cash.

Among the three girls and two boys who represented Sterling were a brother and sister, and this was the first time that two members of the same family had received awards together. They were Daniel M., 12, and Carolyn Casey, 14, whose parents are Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Casey, 1110 Second Avenue, Sterling. Incidentally, their father, who is head of the social studies department at Sterling Junior High School, received the 1960 John H. Hauberg Memorial Award for the teacher who had made the most outstanding contribution to *Illinois History* during the year.

Daniel Casey, a seventh-grader at the Junior High School, this year won the King V. Hostick Award, which carried with it an additional prize of two large prints of Lincoln photographs. Each year Hostick, a Springfield and Chicago dealer in historic manuscripts, chooses an issue of *Illinois History* and presents the award for the best student article in that issue. This year he chose the March number, which was about Illinois' state constitutions. Daniel's article was titled "The Slavery Battle in Illinois."

Sterling's other top prize winner was Gail Behrens, a fifteen-year-old Sterling High School freshman. She received the Ralph E. Francis Award for the "best written and most original article" of the year. Her winning effort, titled "Birth of the Fiddlette," was about a simple musical instrument once used by high school orches-

Governor Otto Kerner presents Student Historian of the Year awards to five youths from Sterling schools. Shown with the Governor are, left to right, Daniel M. Casey, Gail Behrens, Carolyn Casey, Barbara Jones, and John F. Meldorf.

tras; Gail's article appeared in the January issue, which was devoted to music in Illinois. Mr. Francis, a resident of Kankakee, is a former president of the State Historical Society. Gail is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Behrens, 702 Broadway, Sterling.

The other two cash awards for students, the Harry E. Pratt and the John H. Hauberg memorial awards, were won, respectively, by a girl from Bloomington and a boy from Chicago. The Pratt Award is sponsored by the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc., and is presented for the best article in the February, or Lincoln, issue of the magazine. This year it went to Ann Bailen, 14, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. J. Lewis Bailen, 603 East Walnut Street, Bloomington, a ninth-grade student at Bloomington Junior High School. She wrote, under the title "The Bishop Letters," about the discovery of several Lincoln documents by her father.

The Hauberg Award, which is sponsored by the Historical Society, is given each year for the "article of greatest historical interest." Thomas Libera, 18, son of Mrs. Lottie Libera, 3730 North Troy, Chicago, a senior at Quigley Preparatory Seminary, was the 1961 winner. His article, in the November issue on aviation, was titled "1910 Record Breaker: Famed Chicago to Springfield Flight."

Judging of this year's award winners was done by a ten-member committee composed of State Historian Clyde C. Walton; *Illi-*

Dr. Glenn H. Seymour, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, congratulates Thomas Libera on winning the Hauberg Memorial Award.

nois History editor Mrs. Olive S. Foster; Dr. Glenn H. Seymour, of Charleston, president of the Illinois State Historical Society; State Senator Hudson R. Sours of Peoria; James E. Armstrong, editor of the *Illinois State Register,* Springfield; plus a group of five educators.

In addition to the cash prizes for students, two more were awarded to their teachers. One of these, the Philip D. and Elsie O. Sang Award, for "outstanding services to *Illinois History* over a period of years," went to Miss Lucile Gray, dean of girls at Freeport Junior High School. Miss Gray has sponsored a Junior Historian Club in her school for the past twelve years. The Sangs live in River Forest, and he is a director of the State Historical Society.

The second History Teacher of the Year Award was presented to Miss Ruth Stroud, an assistant professor of English at Illinois State Normal University, who also teaches at University High School, Normal. She has supervised a program of writing for *Illinois History* for the past four years. Presentation of this Hauberg Memorial Award was made by Walter E. McBride for the Rock Island Rotary Club, the sponsoring organization.

Following the ceremonies at the Fairgrounds the students, their families, classmates, and teachers adjourned to the Governor's Mansion, where a reception was held. After touring the 105-year-old

Richard S. Hagen and Ann Bailen admire the Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award certificate which he presented her on behalf of the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc.

Photos by Bill Calvin, State Photographer

home the group was served refreshments. Presiding at the tea table were Mrs. Ralph E. Francis, Mrs. John S. Gilster, and the two honored teachers of the year.

The twenty-two award-winning students who did not receive a cash prize were presented a copy of the book *South After Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock,* edited by Henriette Jaquette. These were given by Ralph G. Newman, a past president of the State Historical Society and proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shops in Chicago, Springfield, and New Salem State Park.

The twenty teachers whose students had articles published in *Illinois History* during the school year were presented memberships in the Illinois State Historical Society by Mr. Sang.

At the award ceremonies Mrs. Foster presented Governor Kerner a leather-bound copy of the year's eight issues of *Illinois History* and gave a brief summary of the Student Historian Program. The twenty-six students who received the Governor's Awards, she said, were selected from the writers of fifty-seven student articles printed during the year, and these in turn were the best of 473 articles submitted. Circulation, she re-

Miss Ruth Stroud, winner of the Hauberg Award for teachers.

Miss Lucile Gray, who received the Philip D. and Elsie O. Sang Award.

ported, was more than 25,000 copies monthly in 2,329 schools and libraries in 674 communities.

The ten boys and sixteen girls in the Historians of the Year group represented twenty schools in sixteen communities. Those not previously mentioned were:

Bloomington: Ron Abner, Bloomington Junior High School.

Carbondale: Gerald Kerley, Lincoln Junior High School.

Champaign: Donald Langhoff, Edison Junior High School.

Chester: Caroline Gilster, Chester High School.

Chicago: Bruce Herr, Schurz High School, and Marcia Mall, Taft High School.

Dixon: Carol Sproul, Washington School.

Elgin: Holly Harvey and Karen Palmer, Abbott Junior High School.

Flossmoor: Linda Stewart, Upper Grade School.

Freeport: Peggy McAvin, Freeport Junior High School.

Galena: Frances P. Spiers, Central Elementary School.

Joliet: Karen Lind, Joliet Township High School.

Normal: Royal Bartrum and Mac Holzer, University High School, and Steve Temple, Chiddix High School.

Rock Island: Julie Hollingsworth, Washington Junior High School.

Springfield: Helen Horney, Springfield High School.

Sterling: Barbara Jones, Sterling Township High School, and John F. Meldorf, Sterling Junior High School.

Urbana: Barbara Baldwin, Urbana High School.

Regional Meeting at Peoria on July 29-30

Peoria history was served hot and cold to members of the Illinois State Historical Society who met in that city on July 29 and 30 as guests of four local historical organizations of the area. A tour, a banquet, and a picnic were the main events scheduled for this third regional meeting of the Society.

George W. May, president of the Peoria Historical Society, welcomed the visitors to his city at the opening session, which was held at 2 P.M. Saturday in the Jefferson Hotel, with State Society President Dr. Glenn H. Seymour of Charleston presiding.

Clyde C. Walton, executive director of the State Society, then introduced Miss Barbara Moro, who is in charge of the Society's new Oral History Project. He outlined the plans for the project and said that a Chicago office had been opened (Suite 1013 at 162 North State Street) on July 1.

Director Walton also reported on the various bills affecting history-related subjects in the recent session of the legislature (the Sangamon County Courthouse, Civil War Centennial, Emancipation Proclamation Centennial, newspaper microfilm, and the Jane Addams memorial bills).

Miss Eleanor Bussell of Lacon, efficient chairman of the local arrangements committee, then gave a brief talk on the problems and hazards of putting on a historical pageant. She cited as an example her experiences with "Remember This Valley," which she wrote and directed for the Marshall County Historical Society.

Following her talk guests and guides were assigned to cars for the afternoon's historical tour of Peoria. Although the cars went their separate ways, the twenty-five-miles-or-more route included the Marquette-Jolliet monument at Ste Mary's Cathedral; the site of Fort Clark (now a parking lot for a new municipal marina); the Pimiteoui historical marker; Grand View Park with its World War monument; Junction City; Glen Oak Park and its Robert G. Ingersoll statue and Lincoln Log Cabin (a replica of the Hodgen-

ville birthplace cabin); the Flanagan Home (Peoria's oldest historic home, two stories, brick painted gray, with a profusion of iron grillwork around the front porch); Bradley University campus; the former watch factory where America's first automobile (the Duryea, later the Glide) was built; the Peoria County Courthouse; and the former Ingersoll home (now, with a story added, the National Hotel). The full tour was completed in about two hours.

Saturday's banquet in the Gold Room of the Jefferson Hotel attracted the largest attendance of any of the week-end's events — seventy-seven members and guests. Presiding at this session was Mrs. Doris P. Leonard of Princeton, senior vice-president of the State Society.

Preceding the talk of the evening Director Walton introduced State Representatives Robert L. Burhans and John C. Parkhurst, both of whom were interested in the "history bills" in the recent legislative session.

A surprise addition to the program was the presentation to the State Society of a copy of Charles Ballance's *History of Peoria* (published in 1870). This copy bears the signature of Theodore Roosevelt — thus making a rare book unique. The presentation was made by Fort Cowan, sales manager of the Jefferson Hotel, on behalf of the hotel's owner, Geoffrey M. Field of Highland Park, Illinois.

Speaker of the evening was Charles L. Dancey, editor of the *Peoria Journal-Star,* who divided his forty-five-minute talk into two sections. The first was a brief history of the area, and the second consisted of excerpts from the Peoria newspapers of a hundred years or so ago. In the history section he showed Peoria's association with every major event from the time before the Revolution when it was "six square miles of land surrounded by a sea of Indians" through the period of the Korean War. The newspaper quotations were selected principally for a primitive sort of humor, which won his audience's applause. In the early years the river played an important role in the affairs of the city. One series of stories concerned a feud involving private and public ferryboat proprietors which resulted in the burning of the privately owned boat following a pitched battle between the two groups. Skaters, singly and in numbers, were frequently reported as having fallen through the ice for cold baths. The bridges led a precarious existence, and on numerous occasions were rammed by boats. Frequently the stories had surprise endings, which were made particularly effective by the speaker's deliberate delivery. For instance, a man was run over by a wagon on Main Street but was

uninjured — deep mud. On several occasions the partisan Peoria paper failed to report Abraham Lincoln's speeches because it considered what he said "unimportant."

On Sunday about sixty of the visitors attended the picnic at Jubilee College State Park, where Dr. Virginius H. Chase of Peoria Heights was the speaker. Dr. Chase presented a genealogical-biographical story of his great-grandfather Bishop Philander Chase, who established Jubilee College in 1840 after having founded Kenyon College in Ohio (see the June, 1947, issue of this *Journal*).

Following Dr. Chase's talk, many of the members who had not done so earlier visited Jubilee College and the churchyard where Bishop Chase is buried.

Regional Meeting Notes: When they returned to downtown Peoria from their tour, the visitors were perfectly willing to believe the temperature reading on the Jefferson Bank: 111 degrees. They soon found that this was wrong, however, for another sign around the corner said it was only 93 — and later they learned that at the same time the official airport reading was a cool 89.

The State Historical Society's "acquisitioner" Bernard Wax had a busy day Sunday receiving a variety of materials for the Historical Library.

Dr. Chase gave him the Peoria and Rock Island Railway freight record book for Wady Petra station (a mile east of Stark in Stark County) for 1871 to 1877.

Harry Spooner of Peoria loaned the Library his manuscript biography of his friend Dr. Chase, plus half a dozen photographs made at Jubilee College in the 1880's for copying.

Waite Embree of DeKalb contributed three booklets: *Wurlitzer World of Music, 1856-1956: 100 Years of Musical Achievement; 50 Years of Service to DeKalb, DeKalb Trust and Savings Bank, 1909-1959;* and *Week of Dedication, May 15-22* [1960] of Bethany Baptist Church, DeKalb.

The sponsors of the Peoria Regional meeting were the Peoria Historical Society, Marshall County Historical Society, Stark County Historical Society, and Tazewell County Historical Association.

Governor Names Historical Library Trustees

A. L. Marovitz of Chicago, a justice of the Superior Court of Cook County, has been named by Governor Otto Kerner as a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library. He succeeds Dr. Clar-

ence P. McClelland, president emeritus of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, who served on the board for fifteen years.

The other two trustees, Newton C. Farr of Chicago and Raymond N. Dooley, president of Lincoln College, Lincoln, were renominated by the Governor, and the three were confirmed by the state senate on June 27.

Prior to his election to the Superior Court in 1950 Judge Marovitz was a member of the state senate for three terms. During World War II he served with the Marine Corps in the South Pacific area. He is a collector of printed Lincolniana and other historical materials.

Galena Marks Civil War Centennial

Citizens of historic Galena devoted nine days — June 30 through July 8 — to special observances commemorating the centennial of the Civil War. The opening event was the Galena Art Theatre's presentation, Friday, June 30, of an oldtime melodrama, "Lily, the Felon's Daughter." Performances were also presented Saturday night and Tuesday afternoon. The historical pageant "Rally Once Again" was scheduled to begin in Recreation Park, Tuesday night, July 4, but the first two performances were rained out. Other activities included a parade of floats depicting scenes from Galena's history, a queen's coronation ball, a horse show, an old-fashioned market day, and tours of Galena's historic sites.

New Lincoln Statue Dedicated at Lincoln College

"Lincoln the Student" is the title of a new Lincoln statue on the campus of Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois. The statue, which is pictured on the front cover of this *Journal,* was dedicated on May 27 during the College's ninety-sixth commencement exercises.

The sculptor, Merrell Gage, is an emeritus professor of sculpture at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, and is well known for several other Lincoln works he has executed. One of these is a seated Lincoln located on the statehouse grounds in Topeka, Kansas, birthplace of the sculptor. A second is a large bust titled "Lincoln the Lawyer" in the county courthouse at Los Angeles, California. Still others are in the Teamsters and the Lincoln Savings and Loan Association buildings in Los Angeles.

Sculptor Gage's lecture "The Face of Lincoln" was the winner of the Motion Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences award for the best short film of 1955.

The seated bronze figure at Lincoln College and its variegated rose granite base are nine feet six inches tall. The base weighs eleven tons and the statue itself another one thousand pounds. It is located at the southeast corner of the campus overlooking the intersection of Keokuk and Seventeenth streets. The inscription on the base reads, "Abraham Lincoln/ I shall prepare myself/ some day/ my chance will come."

This is the first time in the history of the College that there has been a Lincoln statue on the campus.

It was made possible by a group of friends of the College, headed by trustees Frank J. Kinst, Mrs. Foreman Lebold, and Ralph G. Newman. Principal speaker at the dedication was Justin G. Turner of Los Angeles, author and manuscript collector. Responses were given by Mayor Edward L. Spellman of Lincoln, State Historian Clyde C. Walton, and Lincoln College President Dr. Raymond N. Dooley.

Honors for Historians and Lincoln Scholars

Among recipients of honorary degrees awarded by the nation's universities and colleges this spring were a number of writers, artists, and scholars well known to *Journal* readers. Irving Dilliard, University of Illinois trustee, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and former editor of the editorial page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* received the degree of doctor of laws from Washington University, St. Louis.

Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, awarded its Lincoln Diploma of Honor to David C. Mearns, Lincoln author and chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. Civil War historian E. B. ("Pete") Long of Oak Park, Illinois, was granted a doctor of letters degree by Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois, and the same institution presented the doctor of fine arts degree to Merrell Gage, sculptor of the Lincoln statue shown on the cover of this *Journal.*

Two other State Historical Society members — Mrs. W. J. Spurgeon of Sparta and Miss Hazel M. Mortimer of Rockford — also received special recognition recently. Mrs. Spurgeon, a former Society vice-president, was given the meritorious achievement certificate presented each year by Southern Illinois, Inc., and Ozark Tours of Southern Illinois to an outstanding citizen of the area. Mrs. Spurgeon was cited for her work in "exploring, publicizing and promoting the scenic, geological, historic and recreational areas of Southern Illinois in order that the beauties, wonders and natural resources of this region may be known, enjoyed and appreciated

by the people of Illinois, the Middle West, and the entire United States."

Miss Mortimer, a teacher in the Rockford school system since 1936 and head of the social studies department at Washington Junior High School since 1940, was one of eight Illinois teachers honored by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, "for exceptional service in furthering the cause of responsible citizenship, patriotism and a greater understanding and appreciation of the American way of life." She was one of 244 teachers throughout the nation to win the Classroom Teachers Valley Forge Medal.

Adams Joins University of Alaska Faculty

Dr. George W. Adams, chairman of the department of history at Southern Illinois University and a director of the Illinois State Historical Society, has accepted an appointment as academic vice-president and professor of history at the University of Alaska in College, Alaska. He assumed his new position on September 1. A native of Jacksonville, Dr. Adams was graduated from Illinois College in his home town and took his Ph.D. degree at Harvard. Before going to Southern, he taught at MacMurray, Lake Forest, and Colorado colleges, and served as European director of American Studies at the Salzburg, Austria, Seminar.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Visitors at the museum of the Bureau County Historical Society between June, 1960, and June, 1961, numbered 2,003 — an increase of almost twenty per cent over the total registered the preceeding year. Society membership also showed an increase during the year — from 397 to 417.

Arthur Stickel of Princeton was named vice-president at the Society's annual June meeting in Princeton, and the following new directors were chosen: Mrs. Robert Shultz, Mrs. John Hauter, Wallace Monier, Duncan Bryant, and Frank Grisell. Officers reelected are Grisell, president; Mrs. Clifford Leonard, secretary; and Bryant, treasurer.

Stickel presented the evening's program — a slide-illustrated lecture on Civil War battlefield sites — and Mrs. Leonard conducted a brief memorial service in honor of Mrs. F. R. (Kate) Bryant, longtime curator of the Society's museum, and Rollo Hensel, of Walnut, who was serving as a Society director at the time of his death.

Karl Lohmann, president of the

Champaign County Historical Society, has been re-elected to head the Society in 1961-1962. Other officers include Olin L. Browder, vice-president; Miss Vereta McGuire, treasurer; and Marion C. Moore, secretary. Mrs. George Ekblaw, Mrs. Merle Sweney, and J. C. McCollough were named to the board of governors for three-year terms.

Robert Evers, assistant botanist on the staff of the Illinois Natural History Survey, spoke at the March meeting on the "Flora of Illinois Prairies," and in May the speaker was Champaign attorney Chancy Finfrock, who discussed the Indian history of the county.

The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) held its annual meeting May 12 at the Woodlawn Regional Library, 6247 Kimbark Avenue, with Bruce Mitchell, assistant manager of exhibits at the Musuem of Science and Industry, as the principal speaker. He discussed the history and present-day use of the Museum.

If Du Page County Historical Society members followed the suggestions given in their June bulletin, they enjoyed many delightful summer hours touring historic and scenic spots in their own area. The bulletin described a dozen historic homes, nature areas, and museums in the county and gave detailed directions for reaching each place. Society members were entertained at an open house in August at one of these historic homes — the Jesse C. Wheaton home, 310 West Evergreen, Wheaton. Mrs. Rowena Nelson, granddaughter of the original owner, was hostess for the occasion.

Under the presidency of LaRoy Morning, the new Elgin Area Historical Society is hard at work on a number of history projects. Society members are preparing a series of articles on Elgin and the Civil War for the local newspaper. They are also making a historical map of the Elgin area (a joint project with the Boy and Girl Scouts), designing a Civil War display, and compiling an area history that will be distributed to children in the lower grades.

In addition to Morning the Society's officers are Mrs. E. C. Waggoner, vice-president; E. C. Alft, secretary; Karl M. Lehr, treasurer; and three directors: Franklin J. Kramer, Elmer Gylleck, and Mrs. Bruce K. Harrison.

C. C. Tisler, of Ottawa, a director of the State Historical Society, sends the following report from La Salle County:

"A blend of old history and new marked the meeting May 21 of the La Salle County Historical Society. The meeting was held in the village hall of Naplate, which is the newest incorporated village in La Salle County. Carlos Santucci, a

musician and businessman in Ottawa, is president of the village board of trustees. The village, a mile west of Ottawa, lies in the shadows of the two biggest industrial plants in the area — the Libbey-Owens-Ford glass factory and the Ottawa Silica Company. Santucci discussed the century-old glass business in Ottawa, which at one time produced unbreakable lamp chimneys through a secret process.

"The Naplate village is on historic ground. It was in this general area that more than 7,500 Union Army troops — in three regiments of infantry, one of artillery, and one of cavalry — were trained for Civil War duty. This was discussed by Horace Hickok, of Troy Grove, president of the County Historical Society. Students of the George P. Hills School in Naplate, under the direction of their principal, Leonal Elliott, sang Civil War songs.

"President Hickok named a committee of four to investigate the offer of an Ottawa citizen to give the Society a permanent home. They are Harry Giljames and Elmund Thornton of Ottawa, Edward Carus of La Salle, and George Bevington of Marseilles."

Three-Mile House, a century-old brick tavern on Route 112 in Madison County, was the subject of the April meeting of the Land of Goshen Historical Society in Edwardsville. J. Ken Roedel described the historic tavern, which is still in use, and traced its ownership and development since 1858, when Fred Gaertner started work on the first section of the building.

At the Society's last meeting of the 1960-1961 season in May, Mrs. Mary Whiteside Blixen talked on the Whiteside family and the career of General Samuel Whiteside, her great-grandfather.

Mrs. Louise Ahrens, retiring president, officiated at the election of the following new officers: Miss Lena Graham, president; Robert C. Lange, vice-president; Mrs. Gladys B. Bartholomew, secretary-treasurer; Miss Ella J. Tunnell and Miss Jessie E. Springer, program chairmen.

George W. May, president of the Peoria Historical Society, reports that that organization now has a membership of 180. Attendance at monthly meetings averages more than forty — the highest in the Society's history. The Society has reinstated its local historical tours and has started a campaign to raise funds for a museum.

In addition to May, officers for 1961-1962, recently re-elected, are Wayne Buck, vice-president; James H. Sedgwick, treasurer; Mrs. Wilbur D. Ulrich, secretary; and Gerald T. Kelsch and George Parker, directors. The only new member of the board of directors is William Kloepfer.

Founded in October, 1960, the Pike County Historical Society has achieved an impressive record in its first year of operation. It holds monthly meetings, with programs presented by members; it issues a monthly news bulletin and has supplied a series of historical articles to county newspapers. In addition, it is erecting markers at historic sites in Pittsfield, and is acquiring books, documents, and historical objects for a museum.

In April the Society began a series of programs on Civil War history. The first two speakers were Mrs. Martha Caughlan and Milo Pearson, Jr., who talked on the recruitment and service of Pike County troops and on home-front activities in the county during the war.

"Treasures in Our Homes" was the special exhibit of the Stephenson County Historical Museum in June. The exhibit consisted principally of antique china, crystal, and silver owned by members of the museum's volunteer staff. Among the priceless heirlooms on display was a case of small spoons of Georgian silver engraved "London, 1783."

At the Society's annual June picnic, an informal discussion of oldtime farming practices in Stephenson County was presented by Mrs. H. M. Phillips, Mrs. Ralph C. Moss, Perry O. Keltner, and Frank Lamm, with Albert Hugelshofer as moderator.

The Stephenson County Historical and Farm museums and the adjoining arboretum are a part of the Freeport Park System. The Historical Society maintains the two museums and, with Park District assistance, is expanding the arboretum. The building which houses the Historical Museum, and the surrounding grounds, were given to the citizens of the city by the late Oscar Taylor.

New History Newsletter Introduced

Negro Heritage, a newsletter devoted to "comment and historical data about the Negro," is now appearing bi-weekly under the editorship of Sylvestre C. Watkins, Chicago author and newspaperman.

Each *Heritage* issue concentrates on a phase of Negro history and includes short biographical sketches, chronologies, recommended reading lists and discussion topics. The publication was designed especially for use by study groups and teachers, but its attractive format and digest treatment make it of equal interest to the casual reader.

Subscriptions ($3.00 per year) should be mailed to Negro Heritage, P. O. Box 8153, Chicago 80, Illinois.

Illinois Scrapbook

The Centennial of Stephen A. Douglas's Death

In observance of the centennial of the death of Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas on June 3, 1861, the *Chicago Tribune* (June 5, 1961) published the following editorial under the heading "The Douglas Memorial":

Of all Mondays, today is the ideal one on which to supplement our weekly listing of "What to See and Do in Chicago" with some notice of the Stephen Douglas Memorial, at the eastern end of 35th street on Chicago's south side.

Douglas' monument, which is under the care of the state division of parks and memorials, has had its ups and downs. Fortunately, the centennial of Douglas' death on June 3, 1861, found the monument well cared for. The state's description, "a beautiful little park of 2.2 acres in the center of which stands an impressive monument," is altogether accurate. Grass, trees, flowers, picnic tables, fresh paint, and no hint of litter or vandalism make this one-man cemetery a pleasant as well as an historic place.

In 1852, United States Senator Stephen A. Douglas bought a tract south of Chicago, along the lake between what are now 33d and 35th streets. The new owner of this property was a man of increasing national prominence. A formidable senator in Washington, "The Little Giant" was long invincible in Illinois politics, as Abraham Lincoln found when he tried to unseat him in 1858.

The contenders in the 1858 series of debates in the race for senator from Illinois were matched again two years later, this time for the Presidency. By 1860, the Democrats were unable to agree on either a platform or a candidate. Pro-slavery southerners backed John C. Breckinridge for President; unionist southerners supported John Bell. Tho in popular vote Douglas was a good second to Lincoln in the four-way race, running strongly in numerous northern states including Illinois, he received only 12 electoral votes — 9 from Missouri and 3 from New Jersey.

Tho defeated and with only a little more time to live, Douglas still had a great contribution to make. In the early months of the Civil war, his leadership was invaluable in uniting northern Democrats in support of the Union and the federal government. If he had not died at the early age of 48, he doubtless would have made considerable further history.

Inscribed on Douglas' tomb are his last words, a message to his sons: "Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution." Their full meaning cannot be understood except against the background of the Civil war and of the divided Democratic party in which Douglas had been a national leader.

Appropriately, one of the four allegorical figures seated at the base of the column over Douglas' tomb is History. This is historic ground. President Andrew Johnson, Secretary of State William Seward, Gen. U. S. Grant, and Adm. David Farragut were among those present for the laying of the corner stone of the Douglas monument. On the tract which Douglas bought, there have been a camp for Confederate prisoners during the Civil war, the campus of "The Old University" [which, after 30 years, expired in 1886, before the present University of Chicago was established], a residential area fashionable in the 1870s, in recent decades a desperate slum, and then the latest transformation into the Lake Meadows development.

At the eastern end of 35th street history is many layers deep. But most of those who come here from beyond walking distance are from out of town. That is a pity. Leonard Volk's statute of Douglas, seen not from a passing train but from the lawn some 100 feet below it, is one of this city's notable sights.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $3 a year (individual life membership, $50) and institutional dues, $4 a year. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

1861 - Officials of Illinois - 1961

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J. W. SCHULTE NORDHOLT

The Civil War Letters Of the Dutch Ambassador

Dr. J. W. Schulte Nordholt, who now teaches history at the Lyceum of Wassenaar, studied at Amsterdam, The Netherlands. He has published several volumes of poetry and travel books, a biography of Abraham Lincoln, and a history of the Negro in the United States, of which a translation was issued by Ballantine Books in 1960.

THE NETHERLANDS was a quiet country in the middle of the nineteenth century, self-contained and peaceful in a prosperous world. It had experienced a good-natured revolution in the turbulent year 1848 and had turned overnight from conservative to liberal, just as its king had done. It played a very modest part in the history of the world. What happened outside the country met with little response. Even America, the country to which so many of its countrymen had migrated, was largely ignored. Whereas there are countless travel stories written by English visitors to America, and the famous books of such prominent French and German critics of America as De Tocqueville and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, there was — with the exception of the pleasant account of Gevers Deynoot in 1859[1] — hardly a Dutch book on America worth mentioning during the years before the Civil War.

This state of affairs continued during the war; even the

1. Jhr. Mr. W. T. Gevers Deynoot, *Aantekeningen op eene reis door de Verenigde Staten van Noord Amerika en Canada in 1859* (Den Haag, 1860).

newspapers were generally silent about the great clash on the other side of the ocean.[2] It is true that some translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were published in The Netherlands before the war, and Bernard ter Haar made Eliza's escape famous by his poetic treatment of the story. Also, during the war there were sporadic accounts of events in America, such as a romantic story about Captain Raphael Semmes of the pirate ships of the South,[3] and the war diary of Otto Heusinger, a German lieutenant who served briefly in the Confederate Army.[4] A juridical thesis appeared years after the war, but that book is partial, ill balanced, and based mainly on an American book about Abraham Lincoln.[5]

The letters which the Dutch ambassador in Washington wrote between 1856 and 1867 to the numerous ministers for foreign affairs at The Hague are consequently the only important Dutch sources about the America of that time. The ambassador's name was Theodorus Marinus Roest van Limburg.[6] His was an important liberal name in Holland in those days. With Thorbecke, the great leader of the liberals and author of the Constitution of 1848, he had been among the champions of a constitutional renovation in the years before 1848. Roest van Limburg came from a Protestant family in the south of Holland. His father was a wine merchant at Rotterdam; his grandfather, called simply Roest, was dyke-reeve of Katendrecht; Roest's wife

2. With thanks I refer to an investigation made into this matter on my behalf by Miss W. M. J. de Boer at Leyden.

3. R. Semmes, *Kruistogten van de Alabama en de Sumter* (Zwolle, 1865).

4. Otto Heusinger, *Tooneelen uit den Amerikaanschen Oorlog* (Kampen, 1870).

5. P. J. van Löben Sels, *Beschouwingen over den Noord-Amerikaanschen Staten-Oorlog van 1861-1864 (sic)* Diss. Utrecht (Zutphen, 1878).

6. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek,* X: 824-25.

Theodorus Marinus Roest van Limburg, who served as Holland's ambassador to the United States during the Civil War.

was Johanna van Limburg, a daughter of the burgomaster of Brielle. Theodorus Marinus, born in 1806, studied law at Leyden, took his degree in 1831, began to practice at Arnhem, and soon became editor of the then famous liberal newspaper *Arnhemsche Courant*. He was thus able to propagate his progressive ideas. About the same time he published a number of pamphlets, the most important of

which are "The Sovereign in Constitutional States" (Leyden, 1834), "Liberalism" (Leyden, 1837), and "The Constitution Must Be a National Force" (Arnhem, 1840). As a result of these publications, Thorbecke – his master – became his friend.

In 1841 Roest van Limburg's political career was forced into another course when King William II appointed him to the Foreign Service. To get rid of him? Or to repay him for his opposition to the first William? That year, when Roest van Limburg left the fatherland to start his long career abroad, he was rather an imposing young man, brilliant and good-looking. Furthermore, his knowledge of languages was uncommon, and he had made use of them in his work as a lawyer and writer, having translated Machiavelli's *Prince* and *The Discourses.*[7]

Of his personal appearance, his passport of 1839 contains an accurate description: *length* one *yard* six *palms* seven *inches* naught *stripes* [five feet, seven inches]; *face* circular; *front* small; *eyes* brown; *nose* small; *mouth* small; *chin* round; *hair* light brown; *eyebrows* light brown; *possessing the following characteristics* none.[8]

Roest van Limburg's diplomatic assignment was that of consul at the embassy in Vienna, where he remained until 1846. Afterward he was occupied for some months at Athens as a representative; from 1851 until 1856 he was

7. *De vorst, vertaald en met aanteekeningen voorzien* (Leyden, 1834); *Lessen van Staatkunde of redeneringen over de eerste tien boeken van Titus Livius,* door N. Machiavelli (Rotterdam, 1836).

8. Passport of the Kingdom of The Netherlands, June 24, 1839.

I wish to express my thanks for much assistance and advice to the family Roest van Limburg, in particular to Mr. and Mrs. Veldhuyzen van Zanten-Roest van Limburg at Voorschoten, who allowed me to peruse the family archives. The passport is one of the documents in this collection.

I should also like to thank Mr. J. Steur of the Public Record Office at The Hague and Dr. J. Woltring and Dr. N. Cramer for their assistance.

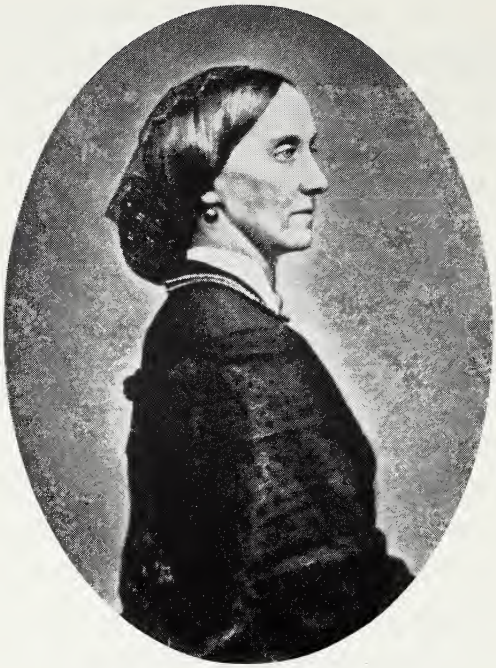
representative at the Court of Portugal, and in October, 1856, he was appointed minister-resident [ambassador] in Washington. He had served a long diplomatic apprenticeship before he set foot on American soil.

Roest van Limburg came to a country where the political situation was daily getting worse as the tension deepened between North and South about slavery and related problems. A few months after Roest arrived, James Buchanan, a Democrat, became the new President. Buchanan had a long record of service as a minister and diplomat, but is thought by many to have been one of the weakest of United States Presidents, and because of his indecisiveness he is often held to have been an accomplice to the outbreak of the Civil War (an opinion which has been contested, of course[9]). Between the years 1857 and 1860 such events as the Dred Scott decision, the publication of *The Impending Crisis of the South* by Hinton Helper,[10] and the attack on Harpers Ferry by John Brown brought the country to the brink of war. The election of Abraham Lincoln in November, 1860, was considered the immediate cause of the South's secession from the Union, which led to the Civil War in April, 1861.

Roest van Limburg, just turned fifty, took office as ambassador of the Parliamentary Kingdom of The Netherlands in a still partly primitive America, dominated by the spirit of the pioneer looking to the west. Was there anyone more likely than he, the progressive liberal, to understand the new world of freedom — democratic America? The answer is: yes, almost anyone. He was in the United

9. F. W. Klingberg, "James Buchanan and the Crisis of the Union," *Journal of Southern History,* IX (Nov., 1943): 455-74.

10. Hinton R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (New York, 1857).



Mrs. Theodorus Marinus Roest van Limburg, nee Isabella Cass, daughter of Lewis Cass.

Photo copy by A. Dingjan
77 Riouwstraat, The Hague

States for more than ten years, but he never felt at home there, even though he married an American woman, Isabella Cass, daughter of the famous general and statesman Lewis Cass, who had run for the Presidency in 1848. Cass was secretary of state in Buchanan's Cabinet from 1857 until 1860, and Roest van Limburg thus had a privileged position; indeed, now and again he turned to good account the private information given him by his father-in-law. In Detroit, Roest van Limburg had a choice holiday resort at Cass's homestead, where he was able to escape from the unbearable summer heat of Washington. But the Ambassador did not get accustomed to the New World. On the contrary, he fiercely criticized almost everything he saw there. His letters are pervaded with disapproval, condemnation, and complaints.[11] He must have been a diffi-

11. Letters of July 11 and 18, 1859, in Buitenlandse Zaken [Foreign Affairs Archives], No. 2795, National Archives, The Hague; cited hereafter as B.Z., followed by the appropriate number.

cult man. In his letters he vented his dissatisfaction on many matters, the foremost being his personal financial grievances. His private letters to Minister Cremers invariably concern this topic. He complained of his pay and pleaded for another post, preferably Florence, even if going there should mean a demotion; he grumbled about the function of a minister-resident, whom he called "a sad figure," quoting his friend Cardinal Pietro: *"A Ministris Residentibus libera nos, Domine."* He also complained of moving costs and bemoaned the loss of his table silver in a burglary. The silver had "a value of over four thousand guilders," he wrote. His poor salary, he explained, was the reason he had had to give up his residence in Washington and "put up at furnished apartments with a tooth-drawer in New York."[12]

His troubles came to a head in 1861, when a frigate, under the command of a Captain Fabius, was sent to the United States. The Captain arrived in Washington in midsummer but could not find the Dutch Ambassador, who was away on a holiday. This was the cause of the fiercest of disputes, for the Ambassador would not even accept a telegram that Fabius sent him from Washington, because of the cost, some $6.00. For months, letters were exchanged about the matter; in Holland even the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Navy were involved in the exchange. Roest apologized that the Captain had had to be received by a maid in Washington (who earned $10 a month, besides board and lodging). Apparently Fabius had protested about his reception, but Roest explained that the maid had been upset by the Captain, who talked to

12. Letters to Archief Cremers, July 31, 1864; Aug. 20, 1865; and Jan. 22, 1866.

her "in a louder voice" than the much-spoiled American servants were used to.[13]

But notwithstanding all the lamentations and all the wrangling over petty problems, politics did have the Ambassador's first attention, and Roest was a diligent and interested man who tried to guide Dutch diplomacy through the maze of American politics. Looking through European spectacles, he could but measure American political philosophy and actuality in terms of his own position: a moderate, careful liberalism that already tended to conservatism; he was timid of the forces of liberty that he himself had helped to conjure. In one of his first letters he wrote that Buchanan's government was conservative and therefore must be praised, for "it pleases the great, calm, well-meaning majority, in particular the higher classes of society." At first, he thought the President to be a man of significance: "Being in turn a member of Congress, secretary of state, diplomat, Mr. Buchanan is beyond dispute . . . one of the ablest political veterans of the whole Union."[14] This opinion changed during the crisis of 1860, when Roest called the same Buchanan a "narrow-minded, intolerant, and vindictive man."[15] Faithfully Roest informed the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the growing tension in the United States. In the summer of 1859 he anticipated that Stephen A. Douglas's attitude concerning Kansas would be bad for the Democrats: "Thus it is to be foreseen that the rupture within the Democratic Party, which is getting irreparable, will pave the way to the Presidency for the Republican Party."[16]

13. A parcel of letters in the summer of 1861 on this matter; B.Z. 3203.
14. Letters of July 2, 1857 (B.Z. 2786) and Dec. 17, 1857 (B.Z. 2790).
15. Nov. 8, 1860; B.Z. 2801.
16. July 5, 1859; B.Z. 2795.

Much graver was the affair at Harpers Ferry in October, 1859: Roest referred to the town as "the scene of a mad revolt,"[17] and reported that Seward's leadership of the Republican Party had been seriously damaged by that affair. Inasmuch as Seward had spoken earlier of an "irrepressible conflict," Roest said, now the South might very well hold the Republicans responsible for Harpers Ferry.[18] All of America was in danger, the Ambassador wrote.

> Slavery is involved, and this is, as I often had the honor to remark, the great and dangerous bone of contention in the United States. The Secretary of State [his father-in-law, Lewis Cass] thought that the outlook was black; and the President told my wife yesterday that he was very much frightened for the near future and that the United States . . . had never passed through such a critical situation. The bitterness between the northern and the southern states on account of slavery is very tense, and the President yesterday openly acknowledged his fear that the South would secede as soon as the abolitionists of the North succeeded in investing Mr. Seward — their leader and a senator of the state of New York — in the Presidency. It seems to me that Mr. Buchanan is going too far. In fact, the mortal evil of the republic is to be found in the election system, the excessive political and judicial demoralization, lack of police, the impunity of arson and murder.[19]

Roest did not like believing the worst, but he did not make very clear the contrast in his reasoning. His reasoning becomes clearer when one reads more of his letters: he thought that where a "democratic" government prevailed, there was governmental demoralization. He made practically a fetish of this opinion, bringing the matter up in season and out.

Roest followed the election of 1860 with great attention. In a letter of June 29 he analyzed the four candidates:

17. Oct. 24, 1859; B.Z. 2795.
18. Nov. 3, 1859; B.Z. 2795.
19. Nov. 21, 1859; B.Z. 2795.

Lincoln and Douglas are men from the lower class who have educated themselves, who have acquired abilities, and who possess much energy. For the rest they are very rough and inexpert in the affairs of state. [This is a remarkable and certainly an incorrect statement, at least concerning Douglas.] Bell and, especially, Breckinridge are men of more knowledge, moderation, and culture. Douglas is a great schemer and is the most energetic. . . . All of them have a blameless moral character, in particular Breckinridge and Bell.

How things may shape, the threat from the South must not be taken too seriously; in the North people think that it is mere clamour or "bullebakkerij" [hullabaloo]. I for one and most of the diplomats here do not yet believe that the nomination of Mr. Lincoln would be followed by a real civil war. It is true, the Americans are a passionate, courageous, and martial people, but they possess at the same time — in spite of all their bragging — a great fund of common sense.[20]

A calm diplomatic statement — attractive to the adherents of the theory that war could be avoided, and in legation circles this theory was popular.

As everyone knows, Lincoln won the election, and this fact did change the whole situation. After some months of uncertainty, civil war broke out in April. From the beginning Roest took a gloomy view of the war and the new administration. Because he believed that a government of the people could not be good, the United States government was not good; he called it "backward and passive." He emphasized the mistakes committed in military affairs (and as a matter of fact there were quite a few), and it sometimes seemed as if he sided with the South, where bravery and aristocracy went together.[21] He did not discredit the Northern soldier, however, but blamed Union difficulties on the government: "Enthusiasm is gen-

20. Oct. 29, 1860; B.Z. 2801; the June 29 letter is in the same file.
21. April 21, 22, and 23, 1861; B.Z. 3203.

eral in the North, and the war is popular there; the regiments of conscripts, arrived here, over 10,000 in number, are really soldierly and are longing for battle."[22] Another time he wrote,

> The men have mostly a healthy, powerful, and martial appearance. Now, if they only set to work with consequence and energy, the South will be subjugated, I think within a short time, for in the North they are ready for the greatest sacrifices. I was told yesterday by one of General Scott's aides who had just come from New York that [people there] are so dissatisfied with the irresolution of the President and the inadequacy of the government that they have already spoken of a dictatorship.[23]

Roest's prediction, based on impressions and stray remarks, that the South would soon be subjugated was premature. He himself took fright at it and at the end of the same letter complained again that the government did nothing but hold parades. "If they continue in this way and do not undertake anything effective and if the South, on the other hand, puts forth more real strength than I suppose it possesses, then a bloody and devastating war may be anticipated." The high price of the war, in particular, went against the grain of the stanch Dutchman: "How much money this devours would hardly be imaginable in Europe. The least pay which a conscript or a volunteer gets is $8 a month; but in many regiments 10, in some 14, is paid by the government of the United States."[24] The staggering costs were multiplied, Roest reported, by corruption. "There were many complaints about the supplies. A number of uniforms even of New York regiments were found to be pasted instead of sewn."[25] These open

22. May 5, 1861; B.Z. 3203.
23. May 1, 1861; B.Z. 3203.
24. May 15, 1861; B.Z. 3203.
25. June 17, 1861; B.Z. 3203.

sores of the North the Ambassador recorded unmercifully and justifiably. At the same time, the South seemed to inspire him with admiration as he learned more about it, though here, also, his opinion changed as he reacted to impressions and rumors. It is striking that his reports — so thorough and detailed — are yet filled with doubt by every change in circumstances. At first the President of the Confederacy is highly spoken of; later he falls in Roest's estimation. A brief comment in a letter of 1861 is interesting for its double estimation. "Jefferson Davis," it says, "is known as a very good officer, a man of great learning, energy, and irreproachable honesty; for the rest he is a hot-headed person."[26]

His descriptions are often striking by their vivacity. When Lincoln's great opponent, Douglas, died suddenly in June, 1861, Roest wrote,

> The United States has lost one of their principal notabilities: Senator Douglas died on the 3rd inst. at Chicago. His talents — mainly of a rhetorical and polemical character — were more injurious to his country than beneficial. He was a man without principles by nature, and besides restless; and by his doing he contributed to the miserable state of affairs here, though he was not ill-intentioned or a fanatic. However, after Lincoln's inauguration he chose the most commendable path; namely, that of opposition to anarchism — a path that was gratifying to loyal Union men.[27]

This description is fascinating in its subjectivity. It touches the inner self of Douglas, who was indeed a vivid and passionate politician. That he was a man without principles sounds a bit too hostile, and may have been merely a reflection of one of Lewis Cass's opinions.

The American with whom Roest had the most frequent

26. Feb. 11, 1861; B.Z. 2806.
27. June 7, 1861; B.Z. 3203.

dealings, of course, was Secretary of State William H. Seward – and Roest was captivated by him. Seward had been leader of the Republican Party until 1860, when he was suddenly and surprisingly outdone by Lincoln in the race for the Presidency. Seward was indeed brilliant, and many believed that it was he who governed and that Lincoln was but the puppet in the foreground. This opinion, though totally wrong, was popular at the time. Even Roest so reported to his government soon after Lincoln arrived in Washington: "Mr. Lincoln is now here and for the moment altogether under Mr. Seward's leadership."[28] Seward had not expected their relationship to be any other way, but he soon learned that the man from the West was someone to be reckoned with. In foreign affairs, however, Lincoln was to allow Seward a free hand. Roest describes the Secretary's obstinate, somewhat rude, and very anti-English attitude in a graphic manner and gives important first-hand particulars. The Ambassador was very pessimistic about American hostility toward England. "This government's conduct alarms me very much with regard to the future of this country. *Quos Jupiter perdere vult, prius dementat.*"[29] The fault lay chiefly with Seward, Roest said, even though he was much more competent than Lincoln. Before Lincoln was inaugurated Roest had written,

> His [Lincoln's] future Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, a man who is his superior in every respect, is much steadier, more sensible and careful. In a confidential talk I had with him the other day he was very conciliating and intimated that the next government [*i.e.,* Lincoln's] would not make war with the seceded states.[30]

28. Feb. 26, 1861; B.Z. 2806.
29. June 7, 1861; B.Z. 3203.
30. Feb. 18, 1861; B.Z. 2806.

Roest thus reported his first meeting with the independent Seward, who was even then developing a program for the government as if he were President. The program was destroyed by events. When the war had once started and England looked at the conflict with some sympathy for the South, the Secretary even thought about a war against England in order to rally the people in face of a common enemy — a fantastic thought that fortunately was kept in check by Lincoln. Later, English recognition of the Confederate States as belligerents was a terrible setback for Seward, for the Southern blockade-runners could then legally enter English ports. Roest informs us that the Secretary of State then said: "We will not be treated by England, or by England and France together, like Chinese and Japanese. We are over 20 million strong, as united and warlike as any other country in the world. We shall show it to whomsoever is in doubt about it." The English and French ambassadors were so insulted by Seward's statement, Roest said, "that the former, Lord Lyons, is ready to go away." Lord Lyons told Roest that he was renting his house by the month since he had no idea how long he would remain in Washington.[31]

Holland became diplomatically involved in the war when the far-famed Confederate privateer *Sumter* took refuge in Curaçao, a Dutch possession in the Caribbean just off the Venezuelan coast. The American Ambassador to The Netherlands, James S. Pike, lodged a sharp protest at The Hague. The Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs, Van Zuylen van Nijevelt, held that the Confederacy was a belligerent (and not, as the Union maintained, an insurgent) and that her privateers were therefore warships, not mere

31. June 17, 1861; B.Z. 3203.

pirates. Nevertheless, after many missives and talks, the Dutch promised to close their ports to men-of-war of both sides, and the North was mollified.[32] Before agreement was reached, Seward had threatened strong measures "in some other way" if diplomatic measures failed to protect Union rights.[33] Throughout the negotiations Roest had visited the State Department in Washington again and again, listening to Seward's warnings. He sent home succinct reports about the matter and looked upon the reconciliation as a personal diplomatic triumph (so did his American colleague at The Hague).

To the *Sumter* affair we owe some very interesting letters in which Roest drew a clear portrait of Seward. When the Ambassador visited the State Department early in January, 1862, he saw Seward's son Frederick, the assistant secretary of state. On leaving, Roest touched upon the *Sumter* question: "That is settled now, isn't it?" he remarked. Young Seward, a New Yorker, agreed with a joke: "Certainly, we New Yorkers are somewhat your offspring, and we won't quarrel with you."[34] Shortly afterwards, the Ambassador saw the Secretary himself, and reported,

> The pending financial issue [of the Union] is not yet settled. The Secretary of State whom I met yesterday at the Prussian Ambassador's told me that they had in view several taxes such as: a tax on travellers by train, on furniture, on coaches and horses, on bonds, on commercial paper, on public amusement, an increase of the tariff of 5 per cent, etc. He did not think it would be difficult to find $150,000,000 extra and thought that the population could very well pay that amount at the cost of a little reduction in their luxury. He objected to a tax which I recommended — namely a

32. R. F. Durden, *James Shepherd Pike: Republicanism and the American Negro, 1850-1882* (Durham, N.C., 1957), 61-72.
33. *Ibid.*, 68.
34. Jan. 5, 1862; B.Z. 3204.

considerable tax on the ratable value of houses. He thought that this would come down only on the poorer house-owners who are encumbered with mortgages. When later Baron Geroldt [the Prussian ambassador] joined us, asking if we had made peace for good and all, I replied, "I should think so! We did everything we could to please the American Government. Only we will not be obliged to fight a *Sumter* or other *Flying Dutchman*!" Baron Geroldt said to Mr. Seward, "You know the tale about the Flying Dutchman?" "I do," answered Mr. Seward, "and I know also that rebel vessels would not have harmed us any more if it were not for England's unfriendly behaviour to us, by acknowledging belligerents, when the rebels had not a single port in their power. After England had done so, the others, of course, followed. But it will come home to England; I never knew a bad action that did not come home to England; I never knew a bad action that did not come home to its author." He was very bitter against England. However, we proved to him that England and the other powers which also acknowledged the seceded states as belligerents had done nothing else but what the American doctrine had declared rightful and even dutiful.

"Well," Mr. Seward said, "my countrymen may have done so and acted accordingly; but I never did." That was all. The most important part of it is that the government of the United States does not have a grudge against us but is very exasperated at the English.[35]

So the relations between Holland and the United States remained friendly because the United States held England, not Holland, responsible for the recognition of the belligerent status of the Confederacy.[36]

The first years of the war were successful for the South. While Lincoln looked for a general, after each defeat ap-

35. Jan. 23, 1862; B.Z. 2811. In this quotation the words used by Seward were not translated here but were put down in English in the original letter of Roest van Limburg.

36. An interpellation in the House of Commons about the acknowledgment of the South was answered by Minister van Zuylen van Nijevelt with the argument that the South had no right to secede since America was a "Bundes-Staat," not a "Staten-Bund" (that is, a federal union and not a confederation). Hand. Tweede Kamer 76e Zitting, July 13, 1861.

pointing a new one, the South early in the war found a general of genius in Robert E. Lee. The commander-in-chief of the Army of the Potomac, George McClellan, was no match for Lee during the years 1861-1862. The discussion about the importance of this "Napoleon of the North" who failed so pitifully is still going on.[37] But Roest soon believed that it was McClellan's wavering that slowed the Northern war effort. "The slow, irresolute, cautious" McClellan, he is called in one letter, in which Roest also stated that the "cowardice [of the Federal forces] equals the incapacity of their leaders.[38] In the summer of 1862 Roest reported that among the people of the North the enthusiasm for the war was flagging.[39] The next spring he wrote, "No good can be told of the government; Washington is a stink of iniquity."[40]

The South, meanwhile, was still gaining in Roest's estimation. In the spring of 1862 he saw French Ambassador Mercier just after the latter had returned from Richmond:

> I met him on my way to the State Department even before he had seen Mr. Seward. He was very reserved. He told me: "*On se battra fort. On n'y songe point à céder? Nullement. Où est de force à résister? On le pense.*" I tried to find out if he had gone to Richmond with an instruction. "*On pense généralement ici que vous avez quelque commission du gouvernement impérial? Aucune! aucune!*"[41]

In the same conversation Mercier also told Roest that the people in the South were disposed to the greatest sacrifices.

37. J. G. Randall is his most important defender in *Lincoln the Liberal Statesman* (New York, 1947), 76, 84-85; see also W. W. Hassler, Jr., *General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union* (Baton Rouge, La., 1957).

38. Sept. 12, 1862, in Archives of the Dutch Legation in North America, No. 98, National Archives, The Hague; cited hereafter as Leg. N. Am., followed by the appropriate number.

39. July 14, 1862; B.Z. 2811.

40. March 5, 1863; B.Z. 2812.

41. April 25 and 29, 1862; B.Z. 2811.

In September, 1862, when Lee started his march on the North (which was to be stopped at Antietam), Roest wrote home that the South was going to win the war. Jefferson Davis, he said, would occupy Washington,

> hoist the banner of the Union and declare himself President of the United States. . . . [He would have] the approval [Roest thought] of the Democratic Party in the states that had remained loyal. The Federal forces seem so demoralized and have so little trust in most of their commanders (with the exception of MacClellan [*sic*]) that their definite defeat and the capture or cutting-off of Washington are not at all unlikely.[42]

A fortnight afterward he had to write the Minister in Holland that the Southern troops had been pushed back. His opinion had been premature once again.[43]

But the turn of the tide of the war was not yet conclusive, and Roest became a bit less hasty in prophesying its outcome. After the Battle of Chancellorsville (May 1-4, 1863), Roest could write but sadly,

> . . . I saw come in, during the last few days, three regiments much diminished in numbers (of a regiment of Zouaves that numbered originally 1000 men, 300 only returned). [They were] in rags, and following were the wounded in carriages. They were received with military honors and marched through a section of the town where the people stood cheering them.[44]

When the news of Sherman's march through Georgia reached Washington, Roest at last dared predict defeat for the South. Now he found fault with Jefferson Davis:

> Complaints are heard on all sides against him; he is being accused of driving towards absolute power, and for personal reasons he is giving command to inefficient generals. Amidst these surging passions the generally respected Lee escapes being attacked. The

42. Sept. 12, 1862; Leg. N. Am. 98.
43. Sept. 23, 1862; Leg. N. Am. 98.
44. May 18, 1863; B.Z. 2812.

Southern defeats seem to revive the plan to arm the Negroes against the North.[45]

Roest indeed saw the true situation in the South. Davis was the scapegoat, a position he had, in fact, occupied for some time; in the South the General was to become the saint for posterity – not the President, as in the North.

About the same time, Roest also reported General Winfield Scott's evaluation of recent events. Scott, head of the United States Army at the war's onset, had anxiously followed its progress, but only late in 1864 did he become optimistic. According to Roest,

> General Scott, who never thought carelessly about the war and all along acknowledged the fighting spirit and the resources of the Southern people, went into the details and his conclusion was that the war would be finished no later than the 1st of July. In my opinion, what justifies this conclusion is the outburst of the lower passions . . . in the South. The newspapers there are full of violent reproaches against Mr. Jefferson Davis, against the Congress, against unfortunate generals, against thousands of warriors leaving the banners. Dejection, distrust, discord, and hatred are churning there and shake the Confederacy much more still than the victorious armies of the North.[46]

Roest thus portrayed, clearly and correctly, the miserable situation in the South. One should not judge him too harshly for not having earlier realized the situation that had been developing since 1863. As a matter of fact, the disintegration of the South was also a surprise for most Northerners.

Roest's reports were generally based on newspapers, and the detailed information he continually gave about military operations was not new. His only reports cited here are those that reflect the Ambassador's personal reactions

45. Dec. 24, 1864; B.Z. 2815.
46. Jan. 23, 1865; B.Z. 2815.

or give special information privately acquired. Sometimes Roest is an important new source shedding light on situations and people. This is true especially in connection with Seward and, to a lesser extent, with Seward's superior, Abraham Lincoln. The gigantic figure of Lincoln dominated all of the scene. Roest van Limburg met him often, and his letters contain quite a lot of information about the great President. One should remember, however, that Roest's descriptions are biased. Here, too, the Ambassador shared the opinions of his father-in-law, the old Democratic politician Lewis Cass. Although Cass had chosen the party of the North and the Union, he did not like the new government of the Republican Party. Roest himself was biased, since he had a personal dislike for a people's democracy — for a government of the people, by the people, and for the people — of which Lincoln was, in fact, a corporeal incarnation.

A third factor explaining the Ambassador's dislike for the President was the impression that Lincoln first made in Washington. The tall, careless man from the West — with his weather-beaten face that seemed to be cut from wood, with his melancholy moods and his predilection for the commonplace, for steep yarns and jokes — was looked upon as an outcast by the ruling caste of politicians — by the "decent people" who thought they had a "right" to be in office.

Roest joined in the chorus. What he wrote about Lincoln shows the same haughty narrow-mindedness expressed by numerous American politicians. Just before the election of 1860 Roest had already heard what kind of man Lincoln was: " . . . people do not expect of Lincoln that he will rule his party but more likely that he will be ruled

by it."[47] He wrote more circumspectly about the new President a few months later:

> The newly elected President Lincoln is on his way to Washington where he is expected to arrive within 4 or 5 days, as he left Springfield on the 11th inst. He is traveling very slowly and is everywhere delivering "speeches" which do not testify of wisdom, neither of talent. The narrow-minded opinions of the former railway-worker are full of party spirit and are causing uneasiness. He talks to the people in working-class language, and barely mentions his "platform". . . .[48]

Such sentences testify to the immense contempt of the gentleman for the man of the people who had been a "railway-worker" (Roest's translation for the American words "rail splitter") and who spoke the language of the people. Roest believed with many others that Lincoln would not rule but would be ruled by Seward, who was a man of culture at least.[49] Soon after Lincoln came to Washington Roest met him.

> Yesterday I dined with my colleague from Bremen at the house of the President, Mr. Lincoln. During the 2 1/2 hours I sat next to him, I could not discover anything statesmanlike in him. His conversation consists of vulgar anecdotes at which he himself laughs uproariously. I spoke to him among other things about Mr. Motley and his meritorious work. He did not seem to know it. Still I flatter myself that I shall succeed in having Mr. Motley appointed minister at The Hague.[50]

In spite of his disgust Roest drew a truthful image of Lincoln: the tall man laughing boisterously at his own jokes is well known to all Lincoln students. However, according to Roest, nobody liked the President.

47. Oct. 29, 1860; Leg. N. Am. 97.
48. Feb. 18, 1861; B.Z. 2806.
49. Feb. 26, 1861.
50. March 3, 1861; B.Z. 2806. Roest's efforts were in vain. Motley was appointed ambassador at Vienna. James Shepherd Pike went to The Hague.

No one shows sympathy for the President; he is looked upon as a hesitant and in all respects a weak man. Moreover he cannot address the soldiers, neither does he know how to honor the officers. When on the occasion of one of the last parades one of the staff officers gave the order: "Three cheers for the President," a general silence was observed; but when he afterwards called out: "Three cheers for the Union," there was a loud whoop. The troops will not accept secession. War without delay seems inevitable.[51]

On March 4, 1861, the Dutch Ambassador attended the first inauguration, after which he wrote the following account:

The diplomatic body attended the inaugural ceremonies which started in the Senate-house and were finished on a large balcony of the Capitol, where Mr. Lincoln in a loud and very audible voice delivered his speech to the people; then he was sworn in by the Chief Justice. Everybody thinks it [the speech] is much better composed than what was to be expected at the hands of Mr. Lincoln, and it is generally attributed to another editor.[52]

To Roest, Lincoln did not count; he was ill-mannered, "highly insignificant," "pitiful." He occupied himself with appointments only, as was inevitable in a "spoils system" that gives power to a "rabblecracy."[53] Later he reported, "Mr. Lincoln is commonly thought to be weak."[54]

Roest half approved of the President's annual message to Congress in December, 1861, though he considered the tone against foreign powers "unstatesmanlike" and "not dignified."

Finally, it is remarkable that the President could remain blind to the diminished sympathy for the people's democracy which, indeed, changed into a rule of an intriguing populace. Coming

51. May 23, 1861; B.Z. 3203.
52. March 8, 1861; B.Z. 2806. Roest was right to a certain extent: Seward had changed Lincoln's speech a little. B. J. Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (Boston, 1946), 139, 150-53.
53. March 30, 1861; B.Z. 2806.
54. Sept. 23, 1861; B.Z. 2806.

from the working class he sings of toiling but though he rightly esteems the means, he loses sight of the goal.[55]

Civilization "is perishing," Roest continued, and the Union, involved in a bloody war, "will probably not be saved by the honest Lincoln." The President belonged to the *"pauci quos ardens evehit ad aethera virtus"* but the country can be chastened only by iron and fire. *"Quae medicamenta non sanant, ferrum sanat; quae ferrum non sanat, ignis sanat."* Thus, suddenly, some praises were sung to the man who was becoming popular as "honest Abe"; though in Roest's opinion Lincoln's good will was insufficient. The next year Roest retracted his few good words about Lincoln because of the General Stone affair.

Charles Pomeroy Stone had been blamed for the disastrous Union defeat at Ball's Bluff and had been treated in a disgraceful manner by the congressional Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. Stone had been arrested on insinuations of treason and held without charge for six months. In the end his career was broken. This affair was the cause of a general outcry and was unjustly played off by the Democrats against Lincoln.[56] Roest, who was already scandalized at the corruption within the government, wrote home,

> The newspaper [*National Intelligencer*] cites the President's words which guaranteed justice but which remained just as vain as all the eulogies held forth on Abraham Lincoln's honesty. In the same way he allowed the treasury to be robbed of millions with impunity, he now allows citizens to be robbed of their freedom for weeks and months when they have not been proven guilty. The deficiencies of this form of government come to light everywhere.[57]

55. Dec. 5, 1861; B.Z. 2806.
56. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Midstream* (New York, 1952), 133, and *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII: 72.
57. Aug. 24, 1862; Leg. N. Am. 98.

In September, 1862, Roest faced the liberation of the slaves without the least comprehension of the significance of the move. A few days after Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation, Roest wrote,

> Everything denotes that the government of the United States now closes its eyes to the real state of affairs and walks blindly; it mistakes recklessness and measures that exhaust the country for firmness and energy; by proceeding arbitrarily instead of legally, it bids defiance to opposition and travels the path to new upheavals.[58]

It appeared to Roest that the President was a vacillating man, he who a short time before had told some Chicago delegates that the slaves should not be freed. If not vacillating, he was sly, Roest believed, and thought only of his own interest. There was still a chance, however, the Ambassador thought, that the Supreme Court would rule the emancipation unconstitutional. According to Roest, Lincoln was backing all the horses, keeping the abolitionists quiet and at the same time promising amnesty to the South. This report was written soon after Lincoln issued his proclamation of December 8, 1863, which granted amnesty to adherents of the Confederacy (with certain exceptions) and promised executive recognition of any state government formed by loyal men in the southern states. Such governments had to be supported by numbers equal to one-tenth of the votes cast at the presidential election of 1860. This one-tenth, of course, had to take the loyalty oath. Roest viewed the proclamation as follows:

> I have explained the proclamation of amnesty so amply because it seems to me that it has more in view Mr. Lincoln's candidacy than restoration of the Union. It is a masterpiece if you look upon it as the work of what they here call a "politician," but as the

58. Sept. 29, 1862; Leg. N. Am. 98.

work of a statesman it could stand under criticism. If you regard it as a means to renovate the South and to restore the Union, the plan would be miserable.[59]

To support his statement, Roest attached a newspaper story that reported the ire of the people from the South; he thus made use of almost the same arguments used by the abolitionists whom he hated and who also were angered by Lincoln's amnesty.

Roest considered the liberation of the slaves disastrous, in this regard, too, sharing the opinion of the Southerners. In 1864 he sent other newspaper reports to the Minister in support of his opinion that freedom deprived the slaves of the possibility of making a living. He contended that he had said all the time

> that the emancipation of the slaves — as it is understood by the abolitionists — leads to their destruction and not to an improvement of their condition. The result of the policies of the ruling party of the North directed against the South will be the abomination and extermination of the people there.
>
> Intolerance, fanaticism, party spirit, and greed caused the war and prolong it, and will cause the annihilation of the South. The majority of the ruling party does not want peace; if the war were concluded now, slavery would continue in the South and the population there would join the Democratic Party of the North, and the Republican Party would face loss of preponderance.[60]

These are the arguments which the Democrats in the North brought against the government. Again and again one gets the impression that Roest was strongly influenced by Lewis Cass, his father-in-law; an example of that influence appears in the Ambassador's reaction to the Vallandigham affair. Clement L. Vallandigham, an Ohio Democratic politician, had demanded that the war be

59. Dec. 11, 1863; B.Z. 2480.
60. Feb. 8, 1864; B.Z. 2487.

stopped and negotiations begun with the South; he did so in a tone so malicious that he was taken into custody by the military authorities in Ohio. Lincoln thought that this was going too far and changed his punishment — not without a little venomous humor — to "exile in the South." The President's order caused a tremendous uproar — especially in the Democratic press. Roest indignantly reported,

> A number of closed and barricaded doors had to be opened by force and Mr. Vallandigham was dragged by force from his house. . . . The country is thrown into commotion because of the fact that all the legal positions and guarantees are openly pushed aside and military dictatorship is recognized. The old adage "*Jovis ad exemplar totus compositur orbis*" can be applied to Abraham Lincoln.[61]

And later, he referred to the "lettres de cachet" of the government of Abraham Lincoln — "which are no less irresponsible than so many of those of Louis XIV." A month afterward Roest mentioned that his father-in-law, "the grey-headed general Cass, with whom I am staying, is indignant, ashamed and down-hearted about the state of affairs; never has he seen anything like it."[62]

That same year Lincoln delivered the speech on the Gettysburg battlefield that made him so famous. The beauty of that little piece was not immediately recognized. Generally it was not mentioned in the press, or, if it was, it was touched upon disparagingly. The Ambassador reported it as follows:

> The solemn inauguration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg

61. May 18, 1863; B.Z. 2812. About the Vallandigham affair see Randall, *Lincoln the President: Midstream,* 212-38, and Russell B. Nye, *A Baker's Dozen: Thirteen Unusual Americans* (East Lansing, Mich., 1956), 185-208.

62. June 21, 1863; B.Z. 2812.

which was drenched in blood this summer gave occasion again for the President to give one of his pasquinades for which he is so popular among the common people. As for loftiness of feeling he was little surpassed by his Secretary of State, who no more knew how to kindle higher feelings than he knows how to procure better soldiers ($600 and $700 bounties are now being offered to volunteers in New York). I have the honor to join herewith a copy of what was said in the above mentioned speeches by the gentlemen Lincoln and Seward. A very long, chastened and literary speech delivered by the orator *ad hoc* Mr. Everett was generally found to be cold.[63]

In this letter Roest also scornfully held forth on the inefficient American people, who with twenty-four million people could not gain victory over the South where only four or five million whites were available. The Northerners were, he said, "a rough, intolerant, and bragging people."

One should forgive Roest for not realizing that Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg would become one of the classical documents of history, for it generally made little impression at the time. It is remarkable, however, that Roest attached a newspaper copy of the wrong speech. He sent not Lincoln's speech at the dedication but the few statements the President had made the night before upon his arrival at Gettysburg. The historical words that "a government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth" were lost to Roest and to the liberal government of Thorbecke. The Dutch press did not report the speech either. The *Algemeen Handelsblad* of December 7, 1863, gave rather an extensive description of the cemetery, adding,

Many high personalities were present at the dedication, among others President Lincoln and Secretary Seward. Both delivered speeches of a few sentences, which as usual had little meaning.

63. Nov. 22, 1863; B.Z. 2812.

But the learned and also eloquent Mr. Everett delivered a speech on that extensive cemetery worthy of the blood and the name of so many heroes.

This report was almost the same as Roest's, except that the writer thought Everett's two-hour discourse less cold. Lincoln's greatness was hardly recognized in his own country; how could it be recognized in a foreign land?

Like most of his contemporaries, Roest did not share Lincoln's sense of humor. To the Ambassador, Lincoln was a coarse politician; at first he thought the President insignificant; later he feared him as being sly and ambitious; always Roest thought the President improper in his humor. No doubt Lincoln was ambitious and much more complicated than idealistic admirers supposed or than the critical Roest could understand. Roest ever saw Lincoln's bad side, reporting in February, 1864,

The President does his utmost to be re-elected. Last week, in order to get the German vote, he and his whole Cabinet attended the funeral of the Swiss consul who died at Washington. This consul was a German grocer, unknown by the diplomatic body, who were invited to the funeral by the Secretary of State. The President, the members of the Cabinet and some foreign diplomats waited for the coffin, in the street in front of the house, for several hours.[64]

This sort of thing would be of no avail to the President, Roest thought, for he believed at that time that Lincoln would not be re-elected. "Among his own party Mr. Lincoln has a formidable rival: This is his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, who is pressed forward by the more radical Republicans."[65] Roest later discounted Chase as a rival, but still, in August, he reported that "Mr. Lincoln's

64. Feb. 8, 1864; B.Z. 2487.
65. Feb. 29, 1864; B.Z. 2491.

chances of being re-elected diminish."[66] Roest persisted in this belief and, indeed, was not alone. Besides, it was probable that Roest's estimation was simply wishful thinking. He commented on General McClellan, Lincoln's Democratic opponent, as follows:

> [McClellan is] much esteemed and blameless, and now the party can entertain the hope that its candidates will come off triumphant at the next elections in November. The approbation with which the nomination in Chicago was met in the different states — especially in New York and, in particular, in the city of New York — and the rejoicing with which it was celebrated seem to justify [the hope for a Democratic victory].[67]

For the United States a Democratic victory would be "very desirable," Roest said, because not only would it bring hope for a peaceful conclusion to the war but also, in the event negotiations failed and the war had to continue, "less fanaticism and more conscientiousness and more ability would prevail."[68] The outcome was different from what Roest had hoped, and in November he had to write home that Lincoln had won again. "It seems to be beyond doubt," he wrote, that both parties "practiced awful fraud" in the election.[69]

In the spring of 1865 Roest attended the inauguration. The President again delivered a speech that is still looked upon as one of the finest pieces of prose in American literature, touching in its deep humanity, and once more Roest was unimpressed. Were his sight and hearing so faulty? Or are ours — with our biased historical perspective? After the inauguration Roest wrote that though the speech "seems of little importance and does not give evidence of a lofty

66. Aug. 19, 1864; B.Z. 2520.
67. Sept. 5, 1864; B.Z. 2522.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Nov. 14, 1864; B.Z. 2531.

flight, the attitude of the newly appointed [*sic*] Vice-President (a former tailor from the West) was of such a nature that everybody in the Union is now praying that Mr. Lincoln may live on for at least four years."[70] Despite that statement, Roest was still very much against the government. The "drunkenness" of Andrew Johnson at Lincoln's inauguration, veiled by Roest as a sin not to be mentioned, is now a famous American legend. Johnson was criticized for it until his death, and his Presidency was embittered by it. Nevertheless, the tailor who became President was a dour, self-made man who rarely drank spirits.

As everyone knows, Lincoln did not live the four years that Roest had wished for him; within six weeks after his second inauguration he died from a bullet fired by the actor John Wilkes Booth. His sudden, tragic death made him the great martyr. It has often been noticed that Lincoln was shot on Good Friday, and this fact no doubt contributed to the worship of Lincoln as a saint. Suddenly the Union leader was raised above the contest, a holy, expiatory sacrifice offered at last at the close of a terrible war.

Roest again made an abrupt change of front. He wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

> Last Friday there was general rejoicing here because of the official news from the War Department that there would be an end to the recruiting of soldiers. Favorable tidings about Virginia's disposition to come back to the Union increased the hope for better times. People little thought that before midnight the country should be plunged into mourning. A terrible murder (about which your excellency will find the particulars in the attached newspaper clippings) bereft the country of its ruler just at the time one might

70. March 13, 1865; B.Z. 2815. The scene made a deep impression on many people; Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, gave a description of it in his excellent diary; see the 1911 Boston edition, II: 251-52.

have expected beneficial fruits of his work. More and more people esteemed, loved, and trusted him. Generally, people acknowledged his personal honesty, well-meaning moderation, and indulgence. Together with the Secretary of State he had pushed aside the radicals of the Republicans; Messrs. Fremont and Butler had lost all influence, and Mr. Sumner had little left. It is well known that the President, the Secretary of State, and General Grant would make the return of the South to the Union as easy as possible.

One knows little that is reassuring about the new President, Johnson.

Enclosed please find a biographical sketch of that gentleman and also some speeches—[71]

Then Roest again mentioned Johnson's behavior at the inauguration when he was "heated with liquor." Johnson, Roest feared, was bound to govern roughly:

This consideration may also have contributed to the general consternation which Lincoln's death caused. Every activity came to a standstill; the shops put up their shutters; the flags were hauled down and wrapped round with black crape; mourning-draperies were seen on most of the shops, taverns, and private houses; the public amusements were suspended. The general mourning was deep-felt and undeniable. Yesterday I sent a letter to the deputy Secretary of State.[72]

The Ambassador enclosed a copy of his letter of condolence. Nothing but good should be said of the dead! Even the always-critical Dutchman joined in the hallelujahs about the great dead man. In Holland, too, the reaction to Lincoln's death was touching. In the House of Commons, Minister Cremers compared Lincoln with William of Orange and reminded his listeners that the name of William's mur-

71. April 17, 1865; B.Z. 2556. N. 5308. John Charles Frémont and Benjamin Franklin Butler had played rather important roles as generals, and both were aligned with the Radical Republicans, although Butler earlier had been a Democrat. Charles Sumner was one of the leaders of the right wing of the Republican Party and, as chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, had much more influence than Roest indicates.

72. April 17, 1865; B.Z. 2556.

derer, Balthazar Gérard, was "still uttered with horror."[73]

Thus the hero was exalted – but not the system. Roest remained forever embittered against a democracy in which the whole people have a voice. He, the liberal, did not like such proceedings, for he believed that only the elite could make a constitution work; he had held and promulgated such views as these in his progressive brochures. But what was progressive in the 1830's was reactionary in the 1860's. He was, in fact, a stranger to the new democracy. Once he fiercely fought the absolute monarchy, but now democracy seemed worse. Mass demonstrations and riots were no improvement over the "saturnalia in monarchies." How dangerous it was, Roest believed, to allow the people too much freedom. "Human nature is everywhere the same: unbridle it, and it changes into animal nature."[74] But this serious admonition, which bespeaks of a legitimate conservative sentiment, breaks down as it applies to the democratic government of America. Roest, in relating the admonition to America, closed his eyes to the complicated circumstances that were involved in American behaviour. Roest once gave vent to his anger against America on learning that a visiting Turkish admiral had just escaped being robbed. He wrote,

> If morality and culture, which elevate man morally and intellectually, kept step with what makes him stronger and richer, America would be a very important spectacle. But what with all their newly opened lands and their rich towns, their countless railways and ships, their activity, their cunning energy, their hard-headed

73. Roest's letter of condolence was addressed to William Hunter, chief clerk of the State Department, since Seward and his son Frederick (the assistant secretary of state) had also been attacked by one of the conspirators on the night Lincoln was assassinated. The copy of that letter sent to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs is B.Z. 2556, No. 5001.

B. Gérard was the murderer of William of Orange in 1584.

74. May 18, 1863; B.Z. 2812.

businessmen — they lack moral and intellectual elevation. In any European country one would find more genuine piety, more virtue, more noble sentiments, more real culture, more poetry, than in America; everything romantic, everything noble, is altogether unknown here. This offspring of Puritans and Irishmen . . . seems not yet called upon to have a beneficial influence in the world; nor is she to leave everlasting evidence of noble art and science to posterity. America has no Thucydides or Homer; neither Seneca nor Tacitus, neither Dante nor Tasso; no painter, no sculptor, no architect. One could ask: "What for?" "What is the use of such men?" It is a pity that one does not ask the same questions concerning the thieves, murderers, and incendiaries.

But here it is the "people" who choose the authorities, even the police and the judicature — till further notice or for a couple of years; it is the "people" of whom the juries are composed, and the "people" know that it is easy to steal, murder and commit arson; the [citizens of the] United States of America are, in this matter, like the facchini [mobsters] of Naples.[75]

Whatever he wrote Roest again and again blamed democracy for America's evils. The letter cited above is an example of the unwise criticism with which a European can attack the New World. Roest did so because he had obviously entertained the illusion that he would find in the new country a whole Pantheon of authors and poets of European classification, and he did not find them. But how could he, in his petty diplomatic world! Did they not exist? Poe was already dead. Whitman was achieving fame through his "Leaves of Grass"; the fame of the Transcendentalists from New England — Emerson, Thoreau, Longfellow, Whittier — was great even in Europe. But Roest did not know of them, just as he knew too little about the America outside his political circle. He was a passer-by, who only took notes on the history of a large nation and on the revival of a Union in which he did not believe.

75. March 22, 1858; B.Z. 2790.

HENRY WARREN BUTTON

James Park Slade — Nineteenth-Century Schoolman

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BY THE CLOSE of the Civil War, the pioneer schoolmaster, once described as "half gentlemanly scholar and half vagabond," had completed his work in Illinois and gone his way. Public school laws had been enacted and the state's system of higher education had been outlined.[1]

But the public schools of 1865 did not much resemble the schools we take for granted today. Most children outside Chicago went to "ungraded" one-room country schools. Teachers were not specifically trained for their work; many, in fact, had no formal education beyond that offered by the country schools of the sort they were now teaching. The "graded" (or grade) schools that were being organized in towns and cities would look quaint and archaic to our eyes. There were no kindergartens, and would be none for at least another fifteen years. The school "principal" was not the administrator but the "principal teacher." Public

1. Robert Gehlmann Bone, "Education in Illinois before 1857," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* L (Summer, 1957): 119-40, deals more fully with this period.

high schools were a rarity, and what secondary education there was, was given by private or denominational academies or "colleges."

The establishment of our schools in the decades before the Civil War has received some attention from historians of education. Too little is known, however, of the emergence of patterns of organization and administration that still shape our schools, and too little is known of the men who effected these changes. An understanding of the collective work of the nineteenth-century schoolmen, and of the values upon which their work was based, is requisite for the understanding of the development of our schools. This, in turn, is dependent upon knowledge of the lives and philosophies of these men, one of whom was James Park Slade.

He was born in 1837 in Westerlo, New York, a few miles southwest of Albany. His mother was a native of Connecticut, his father from New York state. He attended Fairfield Seminary and Hudson Academy, near his home.[2] Although he was to become superintendent of public instruction of the state of Illinois and a college president, he never attended college. Probably in 1856, when he was nineteen, Slade came to Illinois after having taught for one year in the East. A slight, slender, dignified young man, he was

2. Slade is said by some biographers to have attended "Hudson River Institute." The term "institute" was rarely used in New York, however, and no such school was chartered there. More probably, he attended Hudson Academy, near his home; see Franklin B. Hough, *Historical . . . Record of the University of the State of New York . . . 1784-1884* (Albany, 1885), 644.

Brief biographical sketches of Slade appear in many standard Illinois sources; two of the better sketches, though sometimes contradictory, are John E. Miller, "Memorial: Honorable James P. Slade," *Journal of Proceedings of the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Teachers' Association . . . 1908* (Springfield, 1909), 69-73, and Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of St. Clair County* (Chicago, 1907), II: 1123-24.

James P. Slade — although i was used in Proceedings o the Illinois State Teachers Association *for 1908, thi picture was evidently take many years earlier.*

typical of the "Yankeefiers and abolitionizers" of whom some Illinois politicians complained.[3] After one winter in a country school north of Belleville, he moved to town to become a high school teacher. During the next two decades Slade held an amazing assortment of school posts, sometimes two or three at a time. In September, 1863, he was serving both as high school principal and public school teacher. In Belleville, where the public high school started as an extension of the grade schools, this combination of duties was not uncommon. Slade was absent from his post as high school principal throughout 1864, on account of illness, but he resumed the position in 1865. (Perhaps his ill health prevented his service in the Civil War.)

In 1867 he was appointed to fill an unexpired term as superintendent of schools for St. Clair County — then a part-time position that allowed him to continue his other work. At the conclusion of that term he was elected to the office in which he served until 1878. In 1869 Slade

3. Bone, "Education in Illinois before 1857," 126-27.

became a trustee of Illinois Industrial University, establishing his first connection with higher education. Later he also served as a member of Shurtleff College Board of Examiners, and in 1873 that college awarded him an honorary A.M. degree.

In 1875 St. Clair County had 140 schools — one high school, twenty graded schools, and 119 ungraded schools. This was sixty more than the county had in 1860 and three more than it would have in 1880. The average man teacher was paid $63.54 a school month, or about $500 for a calendar year, and the average female teacher was paid only $49.50 a school month. Three normal-school graduates were teaching in the county that year.[4]

Slade's duties as county superintendent of schools were, first, to examine applicants and issue teachers' certificates and, second, to report on his county's schools to the office of the superintendent of public instruction, in Springfield. Actual field supervision of schools was less important, officially, than either of these duties. But in the last years of his term, when he spent less time at his other positions, Slade often visited schools, trying to stop at each one in the county twice a year. He wrote later,

> It was my custom while Co. Supt. to do . . . much of the traveling before and after the hours of school that I might devote the six hours of school to school inspection. . . . I always found it more satisfactory to be present at the commencement of the half day session . . . as I usually devoted a half day to each school.[5]

4. *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1875-1876* (Springfield, 1877), 55 (number of schools), 62 (salaries), 80 (normal school graduates); p. 50 gives the total number of *free* public schools in the county as 139. The 1880 total of 136 public schools included 26 graded schools and 110 ungraded schools but not the public high school. *Thirteenth Biennial Report . . . October 1, 1878-June 30, 1880,* p. 425.

5. Slade to George C. Mastin, Nov. 25, 1882, Letters of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, in the Illinois State Archives, Springfield.

It was a considerable undertaking. A much later St. Clair County superintendent of schools, John E. Miller, who "navigated" the same roads in a Model-T, remembers them with awe.[6]

Slade's pay as county superintendent of schools was $901.86 in 1875, and $921.57 in 1876.[7] This, during most of his terms, was in addition to his salary as Belleville High School principal, which in 1877 was raised to $1,300, after what seems to have been a hot discussion.[8]

Throughout his career Slade took an active part in the programs of teachers' societies. He was elected vice-president of the St. Clair County Teachers' Association in the fall of 1858, when he was twenty-one. During Henry Raab's term as president, the association received some criticism because its meetings were held in "beer saloons,"[9] but the proper Mr. Slade seems not to have objected, and, anyway, there were no women members of the organization. Slade held other offices later, both in the county and state teachers' associations, being elected state vice-president in 1869.[10] In 1875 he attended a meeting of county supervisors in Rock Island, and in 1876 he was elected secretary of the State Association of County School Superintendents.

He was also active in local civic, religious, and scientific affairs. Sometimes there were minor honors for "Professor" Slade (the use of that title began about this time). For example, he was once presented a baton as a token of honor at a county Sunday School concert. Interested in science, he was a member, and vice-president, of the St.

6. Interview with John E. Miller, 1957.
7. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1875-1876,* pp. 73, 125.
8. *Belleville Advocate,* July 6, Aug. 24, 1877.
9. John W. Cook, *Educational History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1912), 150.
10. *Belleville Advocate,* Oct. 16, 1868; Jan. 26, 1872.

Clair County Microscopical Society, and he encouraged the study of natural history in the schools. While he was county superintendent, he accepted a collection of naturalists' specimens — "shells, fossils, minerals, ores, plants" — to be exhibited for the county's students.[11]

Somehow he also found time to court Miss Ella Bowman, the second-grade teacher at Franklin School, who had studied for a year at the University of Illinois. They were married in Steeleville in the summer of 1876, when she was twenty and Slade was thirty-nine.[12] They bought a home in Belleville and a farm in the American Bottoms, east of present Caseyville.[13]

Two years later Slade's stay in Belleville came to an end when he was elected state superintendent of public instruction. It was an off-year election and Slade, running on the Republican ticket, won handily, because the opposition was split between the Democrats and the Greenbackers.[14] With his wife and infant son, Tracy, Slade moved to Springfield, where he rented the home of Newton Bateman, who had been superintendent of public instruction, 1859-1863 and 1865-1875.

The bulk of his time was now spent in administrative work, dealing with the details of management of the schools of the state. (Always methodical, he got to his office promptly at eight each morning.[15]) He was called upon

11. *Ibid.,* Dec. 29, 1876.

12. *Ibid.,* July 14, 1876.

13. Miller remembers the farm. The Belleville house was sold in 1881 (*Belleville Advocate,* Sept. 2, 1881).

14. Ernest Ludlow Bogart and Charles Manford Thompson, *The Industrial State, 1870-1893* (*The Centennial History of Illinois,* IV, Springfield, 1920), 128. The final returns were: James P. Slade, Republican, 205,461; Samuel M. Etter, Democrat, 171,336; and Frank H. Hall, Greenback, 65,487.

15. Slade to Frank V. Rafter, Sept. 27, 1880, Letters of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

for interpretations of the statutes, for standard tests, for advice of all sorts. He attended teachers' institutes and spoke at meetings and commencements. He was secretary of the Illinois State Board of Education and served on the board's committees on the theory and art of teaching, auditing and finance, and training schools.

In his new post Slade worked, as Bateman had done before him, to strengthen the authority of the county superintendents. In 1881, as part of the preparation of his biennial report, Slade circularized the state's county superintendents, asking for suggestions for statutory changes that would improve the schools. Many responses dealt with the state of county, or country, schools, which had improved very little since their establishment. They were controlled wholly by local boards, their teachers were not trained, and their equipment was poor. Many county superintendents of schools felt that they needed more authority over these schools. Six years before, when data on school visits by county superintendents had been published, a third of the county schools had not been visited at all during the school year and only a tenth of them more than once.[16]

The superintendents' responses to Slade's circular were published, and their statements speak for themselves:

> The county commissioners do not pay the county superintendent to visit schools; therefore each school is struggling along by itself. . . .[17]
>
> The one great need of our schools is intelligent supervision, and until the law-makers give us this, the schools will be little better

16. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . 1875-1876,* p. 69.

17. W. J. Roberts, Greene County, in *Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . July 1, 1880-June 30, 1882* (Springfield, 1883), 328.

than at present. The reasons for supervision have been stated a thousand times. . . .[18]

The country schools seem to have reached a point beyond which they can not go under the present system. There is no responsible head; no supervision. . . .[19]

One or two sound plaintive:

I am guided more by reports from others than from personal observation. No time is allowed me for visiting schools. . . .[20]

It is impossible for a county superintendent to sit in his office and judge of the character of the work done by his teachers. . . .[21]

Another was hard pressed:

My time is limited to twenty days, at four dollars each, which is hardly sufficient in which to get up my report and hold my quarterly examinations.[22]

In the summer of 1882 Slade spoke at Saratoga, New York, before the national convention of school superintendents sponsored by the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. His paper is still impressive. Slade was a capable and discerning teacher opposed to rote learning. Facts had to be carefully related to each other, he thought, as well as to the experiences of the student; and supervision of inexperienced and untrained teachers would continue to be important:

There would still be much need of school visitation if there were a competent teacher in every ungraded school. "Even the best masters will not do so well without this aid as with it," is the opinion of the English Commissioners of Education. "A school," says Everett, "is not a clock, which you can wind up and then leave it to go of itself."[23]

18. J. B. Abbott, Marion County, *ibid.*, 339.
19. G. R. Shawhan, Champaign County, *ibid.*, 321.
20. J. I. McClintock, White County, *ibid.*, 356.
21. Mary S. Welch, DeWitt County, *ibid.*, 323.
22. E. M. Rotramel, Franklin County, *ibid.*, 328.
23. James P. Slade, "County Schools," *National Education Association Proceedings, 1882,* p. 26.

He went on, then, to speak of the training of the teachers:

> Most of the teachers entering the school each year have a very limited education, and no special preparation for teaching. We get each year some teachers from our high schools and academies, some from our seminaries, and all our normal schools are doing what they can to furnish us with teachers. But when we have received each year, from all these sources, all we can get, not more than half, possibly not more than one third of the vacant country schools are supplied; and the other half or more are taken from the county schools themselves, in which they have generally received only elementary instruction.[24]

His report on the turnover in the state's schools is startling:

> In Illinois thirty-seven per cent. of the teachers are replaced by other teachers during the year. This is the average for the whole state. One county superintendent writes that one school changed teachers four times during a seven months' term; and he adds, needlessly perhaps, "they don't have much of a school after all." Another superintendent says: "Some schools have three terms a year, and a new teacher each term." Another: "It is a rarity for a teacher to teach in the same district two or more successive terms."[25]

Although the country schools were substantially as they had been since the days of their founding, in one respect they may have been worse, for the teachers were now generally country school graduates instead of academy-trained men from the East — like Slade.

In 1882, when Slade made his speech in New York, "ward schools" (independent grade school districts within cities) were being consolidated, and the number of trained, experienced city teachers was increasing. The improvement of country schools would also be dependent upon better educated teachers and strengthened administration. Slade

24. *Ibid.*, 25.
25. *Ibid.*, 19.

was not successful in bringing about statutory changes that would have improved the situation, although the changes he sought were made a few years later. He did, however, achieve several administrative reforms as a result of legislation enacted during his term. In the first place, the post of the county superintendent was strengthened (and school funds increased) when that officer was assigned the duty of examining the accounts of the township treasurer. Provisions were made for setting school district boundaries and for requiring school boards to transact official business only at legally called meetings.

Slade's own efficient operation of the state superintendent's office won high praise. One contemporary said that in all of his school jobs Slade had demonstrated a "thorough sympathy with the public school. He had a comprehensive appreciation of its possibilities, and he had the requisite administrative ability to so order details that those possibilities might eventually be realized."[26] His greatest service to Illinois education, however, probably lay in his courageous public championship of school reform. Not only did he urge that teachers be adequately trained and that ungraded country schools become graded, but he also advocated an increase in the number of normal schools, the distribution of free textbooks in public schools, and the establishment of professional educational qualifications for county school superintendents.

If Illinois is indebted to a pre-Civil War generation of schoolmen for the establishment of its schools, it is also in-

26. Marshall Weir, in Cook, *Educational History of Illinois,* 150; for other evaluations of Slade's career, see *ibid.,* 146-50; Miller, "James P. Slade," 69-73; Bateman and Selby, *St. Clair County,* II: 1123-24; and Victor H. Sheppard, *A Brief History of the Office of Public Instruction* (n.p., 1957), 60-62.

debted to men of Slade's generation for the administrative pattern of the schools with which we are now familiar.

Slade was not renominated by his party in 1882, although St. Clair County Republicans supported him. He did not particulary want the post again, and Charles T. Stratton, a former assemblyman who had been campaigning for the nomination, was named the Republican candidate.[27] Stratton lost the election to Henry Raab, Slade's old friend, the red-bearded superintendent of Belleville schools.

Slade, meanwhile, was planning to become a college president. His approach was admirably simple: he bought a college — apparently a perfectly acceptable practice in the 1880's.[28] The price — $10,000 — was a matter of common knowledge. Slade's purchase was Almira College, an academy for young women in Greenville, Illinois, which later became Greenville College.[29]

Slade bought the college before June, 1881, and for a time thereafter operated it in partnership with Mrs. Florence Holden Houghton.[30] Although he was still serving as superintendent of public instruction, he began at once to make plans for his college.[31] Finally, in April, 1883, with

27. Cook, *Educational History of Illinois,* 149.

28. Several schools were said to net as much as $10,000 a year, and Slade was aware of the value of a dollar. According to C. W. Bardeen, the answer to "Why Teaching Repels Men," *Educational Review,* XXXV (April, 1908): 351-58, was not the lack of financial gain.

29. Notes of Dr. Mary A. Tenney, Greenville, Illinois. Her book *"Still Abides the Memory"* (Greenville, 1942) is the only history of Greenville, formerly Almira, College.

30. *Greenville Advocate,* Feb. 12, 1934. In their one-volume *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (Chicago, 1907), Bateman and Selby imply that Slade purchased Almira before he became state superintendent, but other evidence suggests that he made the purchase after he decided not to seek a second term as superintendent. No mention of his name in connection with Almira has been found in the Greenville papers before the Sept. 1, 1881, issue of the *Advocate*; the sale of his Belleville home that month was probably made to finance the purchase.

his wife and son, he moved to Greenville and took over management of the school.[32]

Almira College then consisted of a name, a charter, and one building, which was described as

> an elegant brick structure, erected expressly for school purposes. It presents a front of 144 feet, and an average width of 44 feet. It is four stories high and contains 72 rooms. The first floor is occupied by the chapel and recitation rooms, the dining room, kitchen, and such other rooms as the culinary department requires. On the entrance floor are the parlors, the reading room, and rooms for music, for library, for mineral cabinets and apparatus, and for the art department. In the two upper stories are 50 dormitories [rooms], neat and convenient for the accommodation of pupils.[33]

Erected in 1857, this building, now Hogue Hall of Greenville College, still stands, only slightly marred by alterations. It is an imposing, yet graceful, building. The ivy and trumpet vines that once covered the front of the structure are gone, a fence has been removed, and some of the elms along the front walk have died, but Slade would recognize the building if he strolled up the front walk any afternoon.[34]

The Slades lived in the east wing of the building, as did Mrs. Slade's mother, Mrs. Bowman, who taught in the primary department. Although the Professor spent most

31. The *Advocate* of June 16, 1881, reports that Slade's friend, Marshall Weir of Belleville, delivered the commencement address that year; additions to the library were reported in the issue of Sept. 1. Slade's letters to C. W. Bardeen (nonconforming educational editor, journalist, publisher, and author of Albany, New York) deal with the purchase of books for the library and textbooks; see especially that of May 22, 1882, Letters of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

32. *Greenville Advocate,* April 5, 1883.

33. *Catalogue of the Officers, Students and Course of Study of Almira College, 1883-1884* (Greenville, 1884), 13.

34. Interview with Mrs. C. J. Dawdy, of Jerseyville, Illinois, April 16, 1957. Mrs. Dawdy attended classes of the primary department at the college. She remembers that Ella Slade was beloved by the school's students, but no one seems to recall Slade's son, five-year-old Tracy.

of his time in administration, he did teach a course in "pedagogy."[35]

Years later, a former student described the courses given in the 1880's:

> The course of study was made as extended as possible under existing conditions. There were few high schools outside the large cities and the district [country] schools were a lower grade than those of the towns, consequently the majority of the pupils were obliged to spend two years in the preparatory department before entering upon the college course, which required four years longer.[36]

Unfortunately, the records of Almira are lost, but an extant college catalog and local newspapers give further details about its operation. There were eight faculty members. Slade taught the theory and art of teaching, while the other seven faculty members divided the courses as follows: higher mathematics, Latin, and logic – Ruth C. Mills; composition, rhetoric, and literature – Louisa S. Carter; English language and natural sciences – Emma M. Yocum; mathematics, botany, and French – Alice L. Frye; ancient and modern history, moral science, drawing, and painting – Sarah B. Clark; vocal music, organ, piano, and harmony – Denise Dupuis; elocution and music – Carol M. Howard.[37]

The primary department offered eight years of school in one room (tuition, $20 per year). Classes were held in one of the first-floor recitation rooms at first, but in 1891 they were moved to a white frame building north of the college.[38]

35. Tenney Notes.
36. Will B. Carson, *Historical Souvenir of Greenville, Illinois* (Effingham, 1905), 47.
37. *Catalogue of Almira College, 1883-1884,* p. 3.
38. *First Annual Register of Greenville College, 1892-93,* p. 9.

Almira College as it was pictured in the catalog for 1883-1884, the first school year under the management of James P. Slade. On the front cover of this Journal *is a present-day photograph of the same building, which is now Hogue Hall of Greenville College.*

Room, board, and tuition in the preparatory and collegiate departments were $180 a year; tuition alone was $45 for college students and $30 for preparatory students. Painting and music lessons were extra.

The commencement schedule and program of 1883 are still extant, and are either impressive or staggering, depending on the reader. "Anniversary exercises" began the second Friday in June, 1883, with afternoon "music and literary exercises" at the school. On Sunday, A. A. Kendrick, president of Shurtleff College, delivered the baccalaureate address at the Methodist Church. On Monday morning there were public examinations at the college, and in

the afternoon there were music and literary exercises again. That evening an exhibit of the students' paintings was on display at the college. Examinations continued on Tuesday, and that evening there was a concert at Armory Hall.[39]

Commencement exercises were held at eight on Wednesday evening. The program opened with a selection by a double trio. That was followed by an "oration," a piano duet, a vocal solo, another oration, and then another vocal solo, and another speech by a member of the graduating class. A piano number preceded the valedictory, after which diplomas were conferred on the graduating class (four members). Finally, and perhaps fittingly as a closing number, a quartet sang Rossini's "Charity." The program closed with a benediction.[40]

Slade added a business and bookkeeping department[41] and admitted boys as students,[42] but the college did not grow as he had expected it to do. In 1890, seven years after he took over the school, the total number of graduates was only ten.[43] Other colleges in the area — McKendree at Lebanon and Shurtleff at Alton, for instance — were affiliated with churches that helped to support them. Still others were tax supported. Finally, in 1890 Slade turned the operation of the college over to an assistant when he was offered the job of superintendent of schools in East St. Louis, and two years later he sold the college to the Central Illinois Conference of the Free Methodist Church. That fall a local merchant placed an advertisement for the school in a Greenville paper:

39. *Greenville Advocate,* June 14, 1883.
40. Commencement program, in the office of the *Greenville Advocate.*
41. *Greenville Advocate,* June 12, 1890.
42. *Ibid.,* Sept. 4, 1890. The boys stayed in homes in Greenville, paying a minimum of $2.50 a week for board and room.
43. *Ibid.,* June 12, 1890.

Greenville College will open Tuesday, September 20, '92, with Rev. W. T. Hogg [Hogue], of Buffalo, New York, President, and Prof. D. S. Warner, as Principal. The building and grounds have been completely overhalled [*sic*]. . . .[44]

As Greenville College, Slade's school is still in operation, a small but thriving liberal arts college.

Slade's appointment as East St. Louis superintendent of schools in 1890 was part of a reform movement in that city.[45] He succeeded Frank V. Rafter, who had held the job since before 1880 and who was no stranger to his successor. (As state superintendent, Slade had once rebuked Rafter for his high-handed dealings with the school board.[46])

Slade's pay as city superintendent of schools was $2,000 a year, a generous salary for those times and as much as the superintendent of schools in Memphis was paid that year. East St. Louis was booming. Its population of fifteen thousand was double what it had been ten years before and was increasing by three thousand a year. In 1889 the city school system, which included seven grade schools and one high school, had a total annual budget of $34,202 and an enrollment of 1,895 students.[47] East St. Louis was soon expected to be the second largest city in the state, and the schools were expected to grow even faster than the city, since three thousand children then living in the city were not enrolled in school.[48]

44. *Greenville Sun,* Sept. 16, 1892.

45. From reports in the *East St. Louis Journal* it appears that in the preceding two decades East St. Louis had been what is known as an "open town." At one point government seemed almost to have ceased functioning. A city librarian complained of bullet holes in the building, but that matter became unimportant when the city hall and the library were burned down and the mayor was assassinated.

46. Slade to Frank V. Rafter, Feb. 9, 1880, Letters of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

47. *East St. Louis Journal,* Feb. 16, 1889.

48. *Ibid.,* June 9, 1889. This was not unheard of. A similar proportion of children attended school that year in the Borough of Manhattan.

For six years, during a time when city superintendents were becoming increasingly important, Slade served East St. Louis with distinction. A dignified man with white beard and white hair, he was still slender and vigorous. He attended all the teachers' institutes and meetings and officiated at the city's high school commencements. In 1893 he was an honored guest and honorary vice-president of the Department of School Supervision of the International Congress of Education, which met at the world's fair in Chicago.[49] In East St. Louis, as in Belleville, Slade was active in civic affairs, and he served for a time on the city's library board.[50]

Then, in the spring of 1896, Slade and the high school principal were discharged, after a change of membership on the board. An *East St. Louis Journal* editorial complained loudly but fruitlessly,[51] and for the next four years Slade taught in one of the city's grade schools, perhaps at Douglas, near the Mississippi. There is no way to be sure, however, since the school's records are gone, the school demolished, and the settlement almost deserted. On the site of the school, which is said at one time to have been the best-financed public school in the state, there is nothing but a maze of railroad tracks and irregular hummocks of rubble, covered with sunflowers in season.

During one unfortunate year, when Slade was without a school position, he sold real estate,[52] but after another change in board membership he was rehired as a grade school principal.

49. *Proceedings of the International Congress of Education of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, July 25-28, 1893, under the Charge of the National Education Association of the United States* (New York, 1895), 69.
50. *East St. Louis Journal,* Jan. 3, 1893.
51. *Ibid.,* June 10, 1896.
52. *East St. Louis City Directory . . . 1901,* p. 379.

In the spring of 1908 Slade was serving as principal and teacher at Irving School in East St. Louis. One day at noontime, when he was leading his class of boys out of the building, he suddenly fell unconscious and tumbled down part of a flight of stairs. He was carried to a nearby store, and then, still unconscious, he was taken home.[53] He lay unconscious for four days; then rallied briefly. But on April 14, 1908, on a warm and cloudy day, James P. Slade, for fifty-three years a schoolteacher and administrator, died at the age of seventy-one.[54]

He was given an elaborate funeral, and a memorial paper on his work was read before an educational meeting.[55] Today only a few memories of his service remain. A grade school in East St. Louis bears his name, but the records of his achievements are buried in dusty archives.

53. *East St. Louis Journal,* April 8, 1908.
54. *Ibid.,* April 14, 1908. Slade's son had died two years earlier, but his widow survived him by some years, living on in modest comfort.
55. Miller, "James P. Slade," 69-73.

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

"I Am My Own Boss,"—A German Immigrant Writes from Illinois

Stephen J. Tonsor, a native of Jersey County, Illinois, attended Blackburn College at Carlinville and the University of Illinois, where he received his doctorate in 1954. He is presently a member of the history faculty at the University of Michigan. Dr. Tonsor discovered the letters used in this article while doing research as a Fulbright scholar at the Bavarian State Library, Munich.

CONTEMPORARY WITH the publication of *Domestic Manners of the Americans* by Frances Trollope in 1832 a series of letters written by a German immigrant to the Illinois country, Adolf von Aman, was appearing in a Munich, Germany, newspaper called the *Eos*.[1] Von Aman was then living in White County, Illinois, and the account of his immigration to America and his assimilation into American frontier life not only furnishes a fascinating insight into the making of an American but provides a distinct contrast to the gloomy picture painted by Mrs. Trollope.

Adolf von Aman was born in Salzburg,[2] the youngest son of an army captain. His father died early in Adolf's life, and his mother was able to support and educate the boy only with the help of relatives. When Von Aman completed his education, he saw little opportunity for finding

1. *Eos, Münchener Blätter für Poesie, Literatur und Kunst* first appeared in 1817. Four editions of from eight to twelve pages each were printed weekly. The letters were translated by the author from the newspapers preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at Munich, Germany.
2. There is no way of ascertaining the date of his birth.

a position with the civil service. Consequently, when the premature struggle to liberate the Tyrol developed in 1809, he entered the Austrian Jägercorps as a lieutenant and took part in the campaigns in the Tyrol, Hungary, and Poland. Following the Peace of Schönbrunn in October, 1809, Salzburg became once more a part of Bavaria. With an indifference to patriotism that was characteristic of his age, Von Aman then joined a Bavarian regiment and took part in the campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815. He was in line for advancement when the defeat of Napoleon changed his plans for a military career. Dissatisfied with the dull prospect of military service in peacetime and lacking the political connections necessary for advancement in the peacetime army, he resolved to find a new life for himself in the United States.

Without announcing his intentions or even saying farewell to his family, Von Aman left Munich for Amsterdam on May 19, 1817. Carrying his possessions in a small leather knapsack, he covered the distance between Munich and Amsterdam by foot and by boat in the next eleven days. In Amsterdam he met a citizen of Strassburg who was emigrating to America with his wife and children. Von Aman had less than half the necessary passage money, but the Strassburger pledged the security for the balance, and on July 7, 1817, Von Aman boarded a ship bound for the New World.

Eleven years elapsed between the letter of farewell Von Aman wrote to his mother that summer and the arrival of his next letter. The farewell letter, together with a biographical sketch of the young man, was published in the July, 1817, number of the *Zeitschrift für Bayern und die angränzenden Länder* in Munich.. By 1828, when Von

Aman resumed his correspondence, the *Zeitschrift* had become the *Eos,* and that paper published three letters from Von Aman between 1829 and 1831. The first appeared Wednesday, February 25, 1829, and was addressed to his brother, "Hieronimus de Aman Capitain in the Grenadir Guards Regiment in the Service of his Majesty the King of Bavaria in Munich, Bavaria, Germania, Europe, via New York."

THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
WHITE COUNTY, CARMI, *December* 15, 1828

DEAR BROTHER!

Should this letter be fortunate enough to come into your hands, which is very uncertain when one considers what expanses of land and ocean separate us, it will be like the appearance of one risen from the dead. This fact and the impermanence of my residences since my arrival is the reason that I have not written you sooner— Yes, dear brother, I am still alive and well and I hope that you are still alive, well, and happy. I fear that our mother is dead, for she was very old when I left Germany. It is for this reason that I address this letter to you. But whether or not you still live in Munich is unknown to me; a great deal may have happened to you since last I heard from you. It is very difficult for me to write you this letter in German, for I have forgotten nearly all of my German and therefore I beg you to excuse my poor style.

It is impossible in this letter for me to give you my whole story and a description of my travels; therefore I will describe only my reasons for leaving military service and Germany and then tell you something of my present mode of life. Dissatisfaction with military service, especially in peace time and the wish to lead a private life in the circle of my own family compelled me to find means by which I could realize these wishes. You yourself know that it is almost impossible in Germany to obtain a position in the civil service, a position which was suitable to my character and my descent. Therefore since my fatherland denied me the fulfillment of my dearest wish, I decided to turn my eyes to distant

and happier realms! And I did so not in vain — I found a free and happy land called the United States of America on the western shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

The first four years after my arrival in America I spent in travels through the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Kentucky, and in learning the art of brickmaking and the construction of houses and chimneys from this building material. In 1821 I came to the state of Illinois, where I now live, and married on the 4th of February, 1822, Sarah Rupert, a girl of German descent, who, however, cannot speak German. A short time after I married I chose a piece of land, and I now have a fine open plantation which produces everything necessary for life. I have brought four children into the world: Katherina Johanna, born the 22nd of November 1822 and who died when she was six weeks old; Gustav Adolph, a fine boy, born the 20th of October 1823; Rosana, a girl, born May 7, 1826; and Hieronimus, another fine boy, born the 18th of February, 1828. My son Adolph often says to me that he would like to go to Germany with me to see Uncle Hieronimus.

I possess at the present time 3 horses; 21 cows, calves, and oxen; and 56 pigs. In winter and spring up to the 15th of July I am at home and work on my plantation; bring more land into cultivation; improve the old fence; feed my cattle, horses, and pigs; chop wood and bring it home with a wagon and a yoke of oxen; in winter and in spring I plow the ground and plant corn, cotton, tobacco, indigo, pumpkins, sweet-potatoes, water and muskmelons, and a great number of other garden things. In the remaining time I make bricks and build chimneys and houses in the surrounding countryside, something by which I earn a considerable amount of money.

I will give you a short description of the state of Illinois in which I live. It lies 900 miles southwest of Philadelphia and borders in the north on the Great Lakes, in the east on the state of Indiana and the Big Wabash, in the south on the Ohio River, and in the west on the Mississippi River. This land is flat, with the exception of a few hills, and is very fertile. The greater part of it is covered with woods. There are, however, a great number of natural meadows, (called prairies), of from three to a hundred miles long where the grass grows from 5 to 6 feet high. The woods consist

of oak trees, nut trees, wild cherries, mulberries, sassafras, crab-apples, plum, and numerous other trees for which I do not know the German names. Really, this is a blessed country where every man can live in happiness and superfluity if he works and does not violate the law of the land.— Write me as soon as you can. Write me of all the news and of all the changes which have come about in the last twelve years. Give my regards to all my relatives and old friends. If you write, address your letter as follows: To Mr. Adolphus Aman in Carmi, White County, State of Illinois, The United States of America, via—(You must direct whether the letter is to go by way of London, Paris, Hamburg, or Amsterdam, and write this under the via).

My wife and children send you their heartfelt good wishes, Farewell!

In the hope of hearing from you soon I am your ever-loving brother,

ADOLPHUS AMAN.

The next two Von Aman letters published by the *Eos* appeared serially in the issues of July 2, 4, and 6, 1831.

DEAR BROTHER!

I received your letter dated Munich, March 1, 1830, on Monday, June 7. I had to pay a half dollar for it, that is 7 f. 15 kr.,[3] the same amount I paid for the one I sent. Since the first of June I have been anxious about receiving an answer from you, and finally I gave up hope completely, fearing that either you or my letter had been lost. A week before I received your letter I dreamed of receiving a letter such as yours in which a book was enclosed. I dreamed, too, that I spoke with Hieronymus B—— who told me that his brother had died, and although I do not believe much in dreams, these dreams nevertheless revived my hopes.

We are all healthy; there has been neither medicine or doctor in my house since I married. For many indispositions we find remedies in the woods.

For the first three years I rued it greatly that I had come to America, and my only effort was to save enough money to pay my way back to Germany. In Athens after I had earned a con-

3. Florin or gulden; one florin is equal to 60 kroner.

siderable amount of money, I made up my mind to go to Florence, (a city on the Tennessee River), and there get a job as a boatman on a produce-laden boat bound for New Orleans, a trip for which I would have received 50 or 60 dollars. Providence, however, did not desire this, and I believe that it was all for my best.

On March 11, 1821, after the man named Mackle Ray, for whom I worked, had paid me, I began my journey. However, due to an indescribable error I took the wrong road and did not notice my mistake until I had traveled a day's journey. The next morning the man in whose house I had passed the night gave me directions by which I could, he said, get on the road by traveling an almost invisible trail, across various big creeks and through a heavy forest. I traveled for two or three miles until I came to a creek which was frozen over. I took off my shoes and stockings and crossed the creek. The ice was so thin that I broke through with every step. When I reached the other side, I could not find the slightest trace of a trail, and I saw that I was in a very dubious position. I stood there and thought it over for a while and finally gave up completely my resolution to go to New Orleans and then to Germany.

I decided to continue my journey on the road which I had left that morning, and in the space of 10 days it brought me to Illinois. When I arrived at Shawneetown, I attempted to change a fifty-dollar bank note in a store, but, unfortunately, the storekeeper told me that it was a counterfeit note. I wrote Mackle Ray that I would have him arrested if he did not immediately send me better money. I wrote a judge in Athens and asked him to help me get my money. I did not receive an answer from either person, and so I completely lost these fifty dollars.

And now had I gone to New Orleans in what regrettable circumstances I would have found myself when I discovered the loss of my money! You are quite right, I do have to support myself and my family with hard work; but it isn't as hard as you think. I do not regard it in so dark or melancholy a light. I am my own boss, I have no master, I work when it pleases me, and when I am tired, I rest. I am always happy with my work. It gives me great pleasure to see the work of my hands; for example, a piece of land which was previously full of trees and brush, sad and unpleasant to look upon, open now to the warming sun — it is really a pleasant sight. The same is true of a field planted to

corn, if it is well cultivated, ten feet high with dark green leaves, the red and the white silks hanging from the ears and glistening through the rows. It makes me feel good to see a beautiful brick house which I have built.

There is no danger that the piece of land where I live will be sold, for there are so many better pieces of land. Should it be sold, I would not trouble myself much over it but would only go into the woods and cultivate new ground. One is not so troubled about making a living here as people are in Europe.

I thank you very much for your offer to send me three hundred florins and will accept it thankfully. You should make the exchange through Prime-Ward King and Company of Brooklyn in New York. The draft must be drawn in United States bank notes which are as good as silver money. I do not know exactly how much 300 florins is worth in dollars — one United States dollar is worth as much as a Spanish dollar (this coin is the most prevalent one in circulation here). Every money-changer can tell you the rate of exchange. I believe that 300 florins are worth about 130 dollars.

I take a great interest in the welfare of Bavaria, although it is no longer my fatherland.

I always believed that Hyron. B—— would sometime reach a high position, for he was always an excellent student. If you have an opportunity to speak with him, give him my warmest greetings and tell him that I often think of him, for we were such good friends. Have you ever heard what happened to Anton M——? I envy you your trip to Salzburg and Berchtesgaden; I would really like to see that beautiful region once more. I have not seen mountains since I left Salzburg, and it would please me very much therefore if you would send me a few pictures in your letters. All I have left of the things I brought to America are an old pocketbook which you gave me in 1811, a small map of Salzburg, my mother's last letter, and a few other letters from my previous sweetheart in H——. You and F—— are probably still well able to remember her.

In the summer of 1829 it was very dry here, as it usually is; however, in the spring there were many heavy rains. Last winter was very mild, and we had only nine inches of snow, which lasted only a week, until the 15th of March. The cattle could find

enough grass in the woods. If we ever had a winter here such as the one you describe in your letter, nearly all the men and animals would certainly freeze, for the houses are rather open and without stoves; the cattle and the pigs live through summer and winter, and day and night, in the woods; and the horses have open stalls which would not protect them from the cold.

The grapes which grow here are very good and would yield an excellent wine; however, the people hereabouts don't know anything about wine-making and, moreover, do not have the time to hunt the grapes in the woods and bring them home. Storekeeper Willmann, a German, bought a great mass of grapes from some poor people for practically nothing and made them into wine. I had some of it and found it very good. A measure of wine here costs from seven to three florins. If I planted a vineyard of domesticated grapes, I could make a great deal of money. If I had a brewer and a vintner from Germany here, within five years I would be the richest man in the country.

Occassionally beer is brought here from Cincinnati in the state of Ohio and costs from 1 to 10 kr. the measure. After a week of hard work Sunday is very welcome with me. There is a great difference between a Sunday here and one in Germany. For the most part I remain at home and spend the time with the singing of David's psalms and with reading the Old and New Testament and other spiritual books. Among them are Dr. Thomas Scott's *Explanation of the New Testament,* William Gattein's *Great Interests of a Christian,* etc.[4] There are very many good and instructive books in the English language, and I am very perplexed why these are not translated into German. I see the cause in the fact that they would find no readers in Germany, where the taste of the readers has been corrupted by light reading and novels. I know this from my own experience. After this I take a walk through the plantation and the woods. Occasionally a neighbor with his wife and children visits us. For these occasions Sarah prepares a good dinner. During these visits the various events in the settle-

4. These titles are translations from the German. The first probably refers to Thomas Scott's *A Vindication of the Divine Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Doctrines Contained in Them: Being an Answer to the Two Parts of Mr. T. Paine's Age of Reason* (London, 1796). No book answering the description of the second can be found in the standard bibliographic aids and printed catalogs.

ment, discussions of farming and political events form the conversation.

Occasionally we visit a neighbor, nearly all of whom are Sarah's relatives. Uncle Billy Robinson, ½ mile; Cousin Charles Robinson, ½ mile; Cousin Michel Robinson, ½ mile; all married. John Rupert, Sarah's brother, 3 miles; Jenarley, Sarah's brother-in-law, 4 miles; Uncle Grünwald, 3 miles from here; and Martin R., Mr. Maddy's daughter, 3 miles from here. John Rupert married Mr. Garrison's daughter, 4 miles from here. Occasionally we ride from two to four miles to hear a sermon. We do not have any holidays here, but other days which one can describe as days of amusement; for example, the 4th of July on which the independence of the United States was declared and which is celebrated yearly. Every fourth year there is the election day of the President, the senators and representatives, the state governors, a sheriff, county commissioners, the justice of the peace, and the constables. On these days nearly everyone goes to Carmi, talks and drinks with his acquaintances, and has a good time.

It is not customary here to have godparents for the children; and this is no more than right, for if after the child is baptized and is not instructed in the Christian religion, who is responsible for this, strangers, or the parents themselves? To be sure, my children are still unbaptized, and the reason for this is that I still do not belong to any religious society. I have a mind, however, to soon become a member of the reformed Presbyterian church,[5] which seems to me to be the freest of errors and whose creed is most compatible with my views. There are so few members of this church here that they are unable to retain a preacher. However, every year a traveling minister who baptizes the children and administers the Lord's Supper visits the region. . . .

My Dear Brother,

I, too, think of you often and mother, and I yearn for you often, but whether anything will ever come of it I do not know. If I were wealthy, I could make a little pleasure trip to see you, but my wife would never consent to accompany me over there. H——g

5. Inter-State Publishing Co., *History of White County, Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1883), 552. The First Presbyterian Church of Carmi was organized Nov. 25, 1827, at the house of Richard Graham. It was the first church in Carmi and one of the oldest in southern Illinois.

and Sch—— never talked me into going to America; I conceived the idea before I knew that they had that in mind. We were sitting one day in the Aumühle drinking beer and listening as H——g and H——l and Sch—— discussed their decision to emigrate to America. Thereupon I told them that I too was going to America and would turn in my request for a discharge on April 1.

I believe that America would not have been very much to the taste of H—— if he had found it necessary to work as I did. [Note: According to reports H——g joined the South American insurgents and was shot there while visiting sentry posts one night.][6] Life certainly would be easier in one of the older states, but it is difficult to obtain land there because of its dearness. If you were suddenly transplanted from the tumult of the city of Munich to my plantation, you would doubtless call it a wilderness. To me, however, who have been weaned from the city and its pleasures for many years, it is a friendly and home-like place and I am never more satisfied than when I am at home.

If I were of the same mind as thirteen years ago, it would bring me to distraction to have to live here without beer, without wine, without music, without the theatre, and without every other pleasure! I hope that by the first of March, 1831, my family will have a new addition. Last fall Sarah took in a nursing child named Tempe whose parents died last summer. When you retire from the army will it be possible for you to buy a small estate?

In this letter you will find a few seeds of the May apple. You can plant them in a flowerpot. The plants are of two sexes. The male plant has only one leaf and produces no fruit. The female plant has two leaves and the fruit grows between them. Plant the seeds before the first of April, and by August 1st the fruit will be ripe. They are very common here in the woods. The seeds of the watermelon must be planted in the garden and cared for as other melons are. I can't remember that I ever saw watermelons in Germany. Joseph Keller, a merchant in Harrisburg, (eleven miles from Philadelphia), paid the other half of my way over in return for which I served a half year.

Do you have steam-ships in Germany now too? I have never spoken German with my children. I am waiting until they are older and have first completely mastered English. Sarah's mother,

6. This "note" was inserted by the editor of *Eos*.

who still looks quite pretty, two years ago married Hrn. Howard, a very clever and prosperous man who lived six miles from the deceased David Rupert's plantation. My father-in-law was relatively well off. He had 400 acres of land, 5 wagons, and many other possessions, which after my mother-in-law's marriage were sold very cheaply so that Sarah, who was one of six heirs, received only 170 dollars. This fall I must go to Kentucky in order to collect the money.

I have completely given up buying the quarter-section where the sugar maples are. There are two reasons for this: 1) Sarah is unwilling to live on the other side of the Little Wabash; 2) The brother of Mr. George Logan, the owner of the land, wants 250 dollars for it. This is too much money since I can buy Congress land for only 200 dollars. George Logan, with whom I am very well acquainted and who is my best friend, lives very near to this land. This is the reason why I wished to own and to live on this quarter-section. Benjamin Brockett also lives on the other side of the Little Wabash, and he is my other good friend. These two are the only men in the whole region with whom I can conduct an interesting conversation. Both of them have good, sensible wives, and each of them has nine good, well-raised children. Mr. Logan and Mr. Brockett are members of the church to which I wish to belong. I intend to buy the east half of the quarter-section where I now live together with the north half of the quarter-section which lies south of here and which is very black, rich earth and which has many beautiful and useful trees. The two pieces of land cost 200 dollars, that is, 500 florins.

Misters Moore and Casey of New York, resident in Carmi, where they are building a big steam-distillery, and who gave me the name of the exchange house I mentioned to you, believe that it will not be difficult to get the money exchanged so long as the business house on which the draft is drawn has good credit.

One pound of sugar costs here 13 kr.; coffee, 28 kr.; beef, 3 kr.; pork, 3 kr.; smoked pork and bacon, 8-9 kr.; butter, 9 kr.; a dozen chickens, 1 fl. 15 kr.; one dozen eggs, 9 kr.; a bushel of wheat, 1 fl. 12 kr.; a bushel corn, 24 kr. We raise chickens, ducks, geese, etc., which are often in danger of being eaten by foxes, possums, and night-owls. Last autumn I sold six steers for 41 dollars. They weighed 2400 lbs. Had I sold them in Munich, I would have

received 250 fl. for them. Next autumn I have 20 pigs, which will weigh around 3000 lbs., to sell and will get about 60 dollars for them. In Munich I might get about 500 fl. for them. (?) I now have fifteen head of calves, for I sold together with the six steers a cow and a calf, a cow and two young steers, and I slaughtered a big steer last winter. My mare, Silva, foaled last spring. Thomas, my brown, is twenty years old and still works well. Charles, a black three-year-old, I broke to the saddle and to the plow this summer. How much did your horse cost you? An ordinary horse here costs 50 dollars.

Last fall I earned 50 dollars laying bricks. This fall I will earn 65 dollars. If there were another mason in the country I would give up this business completely, for I have too much work on my plantation. I also have two young hounds, Nimrod and Venus. Without them the wild animals would take over the fields. I want to thank you for the receipt for brewing beer. I don't as yet understand it all perfectly, yet I think I can make it work. At first I am going to try making only a little of it. Will an iron kettle do or must the kettle be made of copper? Since wild hops are difficult to find here, I wish that if possible you would send me some good hop seeds. We have no stoves here, only fireplaces such as they have in France. My furniture consists of four beds, a table and a chest made of walnut, which is a very beautiful brown wood, five chairs; and on the wall near the fireplace are three shelves on which the white porcelain and the coffee cups parade. N.B. The house consists of only one room. Joined to the house is another building in which I salt, hang, and smoke pork, and in which I store the flour, lard, soap, and vinegar. Over the area between these two buildings is an attic where I store my implements, tools, and other odds and ends.

The reason why my letters travel faster than yours is, I believe, because the wind usually blows from the west rather than the east.

Since next fall I am going to build a new house on the other side of the plantation and make some radical changes I will still not send you a sketch of my plantation. The United States keeps only a small army in peacetime, garrisoned in the port cities and on the frontiers. The soldiers are recruited and receive eight dollars per month, together with provisions and clothing; their term of enlistment is five years, and on discharge they all receive

a quarter-section of land. The United States has moreover a fairly respectable navy, which does not take second place to even the English navy. Now, dear Brother, I will close. I believe that I have answered all your questions. (There follow many greetings and regards to relatives, acquaintances, and officers; and the writer expresses the hope that by the 1st of March of 1831 he will have received another letter from Europe.)[7]

No further letters from Von Aman appeared in the newspaper *Eos*. Probably the editors, faced with the increasingly acute struggle between conservatism and liberalism, between Prussia and Austria for mastery in Germany, felt that they could devote their space to more important items. We know, however, that Adolf von Aman lived on for another decade. In an 1883 history of White County we find the following biographical sketch of one of his children:

Hieronimus Aman, son of Adolphus and Sarah (Rupert) Aman, was born in Herald Prairie, White County, Ill., Feb. 18, 1828. His father was a native of Germany, and came to this country in 1818, and shortly after located in this county where he died in 1841. His mother was a native of Kentucky. They were married in 1821, and were the parents of seven children, five of whom lived to man and womanhood. Three are still living. Mrs. Aman died in 1839. Mr. Aman lived on the farm with his parents till their death. He was married in 1858 to Mrs. Malinda (Thompson) Culbreth, a native of Indiana. They have six children — John D., Nancy Ann, William S., Ellen Elizabeth, Sarah Jane and Ida Bell, all living at home. Mr. Aman settled on his present home of 120 acres in 1867. He also has forty acres two miles southeast of home. He is a good farmer and has 100 acres under a good state of cultivation. Politically he is a Whig, but since the war has voted the Democratic ticket.[8]

The evidence suggests that in the case of the Aman family it took less than two generations to transform the old European into the new American man.

7. Comment by the *Eos* editor.
8. *History of White County, Illinois . . .*, 680.

CLARENCE A. BROWN

Edward Eggleston As a Social Historian

Dr. Clarence A. Brown, professor of English at Marquette University, is the author of an article on "Walt Whitman and Lincoln" that appeared in this Journal *in the summer of 1954. His publications also include two anthologies:* The Achievement of American Criticism, *issued in 1954, and* American Literature: A College Survey *(1961), prepared in collaboration with Professor John Flanagan of the University of Illinois.*

REFERRING TO that broad provincial movement in American literature which included the productions of George W. Cable, Henry Howe, Hamlin Garland, and Joel Chandler Harris, Edward Eggleston wrote in 1892: "The taking up of life in this regional way has made our literature really national by the only process possible. The Federal nation has at length manifested a consciousness of the continental diversity of its forms of life. The 'Great American Novel' . . . is appearing in sections."[1] These remarks suggest what is perhaps the only valid approach to a study of Eggleston's theories of fiction.

From the time he wrote *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* in 1871 until he wrote the preface to the library edition of the same work in 1892, Eggleston was developing his ideas as to what realistic fiction should be. In the final preface of the *Schoolmaster* his creed for the novelist is stated quite posi-

1. Edward Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (New York, 1899), 6-7.

tively and explicitly. In recalling the experience of writing his first novel he did in fact say: "The sole purpose I had in view at first was the resuscitation of the dead-and-alive newspaper [*The Hearth and Home* of Brooklyn, New York] of which I had ventured to take charge."[2] Since Eggleston became progressively more articulate in stating his concepts of art and realism, a coherent analysis of his realism can be made by tracing his views as they appear chronologically in his works. The result shows the development of one of the first American realists who had been conscious from the beginning of what he was doing.

In 1871 Eggleston was thirty-four years old; he was a family man and editor of a weekly newspaper, *The Hearth and Home*. Before then his life had been full of travel and varied experience. Though born in Indiana, he had in his mid-teens been exposed to the serene and aristocratic atmosphere of his uncle's Virginia plantation; several years later he was doing odd jobs in the outdoor wilderness of Minnesota; he was in turn a Bible agent in Minnesota, a circuit rider in Indiana, and finally a newspaperman in Chicago. This variety of experience apparently made him acutely aware of the regional differences in society in the United States of his time.

Though he grew up in an intellectual home, he had no formal training beyond elementary school. Using the number of good books left to him by his father, a graduate of William and Mary, and with the encouragement of his mother, he studied on his own during the years of his youth. Literature, foreign languages (including Greek), mathematics, and theology were his chief interests; he was an ambitious and conscientious student. The Methodist teach-

2. *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, 9.

ings of his family were another strong formative influence of his youth; as a young man he was somewhat narrow in his religious outlook. His experiences as a circuit rider and preacher in Indiana were to furnish material for some of his later books; although his religious views were less rigid by the time he began writing, they do color his approach to fiction.

As the newly installed editor of a limping weekly, Eggleston told his brother, George Cary Eggleston,

> We must put stories into the paper, not only for the sake of its success, but because the story is the most effective of all literary forms in teaching truth, conveying interesting information, and uplifting men's minds and souls. I sometimes think the day is coming when pretty nearly all of instruction and all of inspiring thought will be given in the story form. . . .[3]

Thus, with the apparent intentions of "teaching truth" and "uplifting men's minds and souls," Eggleston began his minor classic, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster.* He based his narrative on experiences of his brother, who had taught at Riker's Ridge, Indiana, during the fifties, and also on his own knowledge of the rural Indiana of his boyhood. The story appeared in weekly installments and was so well received that Eggleston was persuaded to develop it into a full-length novel; this he did by working steadily for ten weeks.

Eggleston's prefaces to his novels contain particularly revealing statements of what he was trying to do, as excerpts from the preface of the first edition of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* indicate:

> It has been in my mind since I was a Hoosier boy to do something toward describing life in the backcountry districts of the Western

3. George Cary Eggleston, *The First of the Hoosiers* (Philadelphia, 1903), 295.

States. It used to be a matter of no little jealousy with us, I remember, that the manners, customs, thoughts, and feelings of New England people filled so large a place in books, while our life, not less interesting, not less romantic, and certainly not less filled with humorous and grotesque material, had no place in literature. It was as though we were shut out of good society. . . . perhaps, our Western writers did not dare speak of the West otherwise than as the unreal world to which Cooper's lively imagination had given birth.

The phrases "describing life" and "the manners, customs, thoughts and feelings of . . . people" should be noted. In his biography of his brother, George Cary Eggleston tells how Edward set forth his theory of art before beginning to write. Edward believed that the artist, writer, or painter would do best to choose his subjects from his particular environment, from the life he knew best.[4] He later acknowledged that this theory was the result of the influence of A. H. Taine's *History of Art in the Netherlands,* which he had reviewed earlier. Eggleston stated further in this first preface,

> It has been in my mind to append some remarks, philological and otherwise, upon the dialect, but Professor Lowell's admirable and erudite preface to the *Biglow Papers* must be the despair of everyone who aspires to write on Americanisms. To Mr. Lowell belongs the distinction of being the only one of our most eminent authors . . . who has given careful attention to American dialects. . . . I have been careful to preserve the true *usus loquendi* of each locution.[5]

The two basic influences which shaped Eggleston's concept of realism at this early stage, then, were Taine's theory of art and James Russell Lowell's precedent in the use of dialect. Eggleston had noted Lowell's "careful attention to American dialects," and he was to be "careful to pre-

4. *Ibid.,* 297.
5. *The Hoosier Schoolmaster,* 30-31.

serve" the true usages in his fiction. Dialect was not to be used for flavor or ornament; it was to be used naturally to preserve the authenticity of the speech and manners of the people of backwoods Indiana. Under Taine's influence Eggleston was to portray the lives of the people: their customs, religion, amusements, politics, and domestic habits. He seems at this early date to have been implicitly interested in studying and recording the relation of people to a particular environment.

In the first chapter of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* are a number of elements peculiar to the backwoods society. As the newly hired schoolteacher in Flat Creek School, Ralph Hartsook was sustained by "boardin' roun' "; that is, he would live for a short time with each of the families in the district. Other characteristic situations include the ever-present threat by a formidable group of pupils to "thrash the master," a coon hunt – one of the chief amusements in the community – which is introduced early in the book, and the practice in many families of always addressing the eldest boy as "Bud" and the eldest girl as "Sis." During his first evening the new schoolteacher managed to ingratiate himself with the Means family by telling stories. Eggleston writes,

> The hungry minds of these backwoods people were refreshed with the new life that came to their imaginations in these stories. For there was but one book in the Means' library, and that, a well-thumbed copy of "Captain Riley's Narrative," had long lost all freshness.[6]

Such details are continually integrated into the narrative so that the reader receives a clear picture of backwoods family and social life. Other community institutions and

6. *Ibid.*, 44.

practices such as the spelling bee, the revival meeting, the poor house, and the bound servant figure in the story and are explained in some detail in Eggleston's interpolations. Almost conspicuous by their absence are any concrete descriptions of the physical environment. The emphasis is on the speech and manners of the people. Apparently Eggleston's preoccupation with realism did not extend to flora and fauna.

If his interest was chiefly in the social mores of a people, as it appears to have been, it was a comparatively superficial interest. As William Peirce Randel has pointed out in his biography of the novelist, "Eggleston accepted his people as he found them and probed neither for motives nor for inherited traits."[7] For example, Eggleston's villain in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster,* one Dr. Small, is described in great detail. But this nocturnal leader of robbers, who disguises himself as a respectable country doctor, is never in the least analyzed psychologically; in fact, Dr. Small's special antagonism toward the hero, Ralph Hartsook, is never explained to the reader. This disregard for motive is not only a serious literary fault in Eggleston's book but also an indication of a limitation of Eggleston's realism. He was not interested in individuals or in their psychological development; rather, he was interested in the social relations of people generally as inhabitants of a specific locale. He does, however, make a few brief and cursory speculations about the possible effects of circumstances and heredity in forming a certain type of individual. Of the robbers he says, for example:

Shall I not say that these bands of desperadoes still found among

7. William Peirce Randel, *Edward Eggleston: Author of the Hoosier School-master* (New York, 1946), 130.

the "poor whitey," "dirt eater" class are the outcroppings of the bad blood sent from England in convict-ships? Ought an old country to sow the fertile soil of a colony with such noxious seed?[8]

And again, the strong backwoods giant, Bud Means, speaks briefly of himself as the product of his environment:

"You see," said Bud, "I wanted to git out of this low-lived, Flat Crick way of livin'. We're a hard set down here, Mr. Hartsook. And I'm gittin' to be one of the hardest of 'em."[9]

Thus, in his first novel, Eggleston's realism seems to be confined to recording the overt and the external; he never attempts to any great extent to investigate formative causes.

Although Eggleston's purpose in using dialect was "to preserve the true usages," his interest in dialect no doubt stemmed from his talent for languages. The genuine nature of his dialect has never been seriously questioned as was that of Bret Harte, for example. Eggleston later appended some rather learned philological notes to his revision of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. The orthography and pronunciation of his characters are considered a valuable historical record of Hoosier speech. The first paragraph of the story provides a typical example:

Want to be a school-master, do you? You? Well, what would *you* do in Flat Crick deestrick, *I'd* like to know? Why, the boys have driv off the last two, and licked the one afore them like blazes. . . . I 'low it takes a right smart *man* to be school-master in Flat Crick in the winter. They'd pitch you out of doors, sonny, neck and heels, afore Christmas.

Some final observations about Eggleston's first book may illuminate his realism as he conceived it in 1871. In one of his interpolations he addresses the reader as "friend Callow" and presents an indictment of the contemporary

8. *The Hoosier Schoolmaster,* 101.
9. *Ibid.,* 158.

"penny-dreadfuls." He says that he will not entice his reader with "hand to hand contests," "struggles in the dark," and "trapdoors and subterranean passages"; we are to assume, therefore, that, realistic or not, he will avoid such devices, which can be procured "dirt cheap at the next news stand."[10]

In the last chapter of the *Schoolmaster* there is a statement that reveals something further of the temper of Eggleston's realism:

> We are all children in reading stories. We want more than all else to know how it all came out at the end, and, if our taste is not perverted, we like it to come out well.[11]

This remark, which indicates something of Eggleston's own literary philosophy, has been the basis for criticism of the *Schoolmaster* as a piece of literary art — that its value has been lowered by the author's too obvious manipulation of the characters toward a "Santa-Claus-like" ending. At the same time, however, the remark reveals the optimism and faith in humanity that colored his realism. Not one of his principal characters is totally bad, and even the villains come out well in the end. Randel points out that Eggleston considered the sad endings of contemporary novels little more than a passing fashion.[12] The novelist's optimism at this time was perhaps rooted in his personal religion; a Christian love for humanity permeates all his books. Although the strict young Methodist had become more tolerant of human foibles by his middle years, the optimism manifested in his later work as a "historian" was the result of quite another factor: his acceptance of Darwin's theory.

In the preface to his third novel, *The Mystery of Metropo-*

10. *Ibid.*, 109-10.
11. *Ibid.*, 278.
12. Randel, *Eggleston*, 133.

lisville, written in 1873, Eggleston introduces a new element into his realism, that of history. It would seem that after his initial success with the *Schoolmaster* he gave more thought to his purposes and broadened his theory of the function of the novel to include the necessity for presenting history. *The Mystery of Metropolisville* concerns the frontier real-estate boom, as Eggleston knew it in Minnesota during the 1850's. The preface gives a rather complete statement of what he was trying to do:

> A novel should be the truest of books. It partakes in a certain sense of the nature of history. . . . I have wished to make my stories of value as a contribution to the history of civilization in America. If it be urged that this is not the highest function, I reply that it is just now the most necessary function of this kind of literature. . . . Of the value of these stories as works of art, others must judge.

The phrase "just now the most necessary function of . . . literature" would seem to suggest that Eggleston wished to capture the colorful frontier aspects of regions he had known before they completely disappeared. He now would have himself considered as something of a historian as well as a novelist.

His fourth book, *The Circuit Rider* (1874), is dedicated "to the brave and self-sacrificing men with whom I had the honor to be associated in a frontier ministry." It is the story of the Methodist circuit riders and of their influence on the Midwest frontier. The author had joined their ranks himself for a time at the age of eighteen. The first sentence of his preface, "Whatever is incredible in this story is true," seems to belabor the issue of his realism. He continues:

> The tale I have to tell will seem strange to those who know little

of the social life of the West at the beginning of this century. These sharp contrasts of corn-shuckings and camp-meetings, of wild revels followed by wild revivals; these contacts of highwayman and preacher; this *mélange* of picturesque simplicity, grotesque humor and savage ferocity, of abandoned wickedness and austere piety, can hardly seem real to those who know the country now.[13]

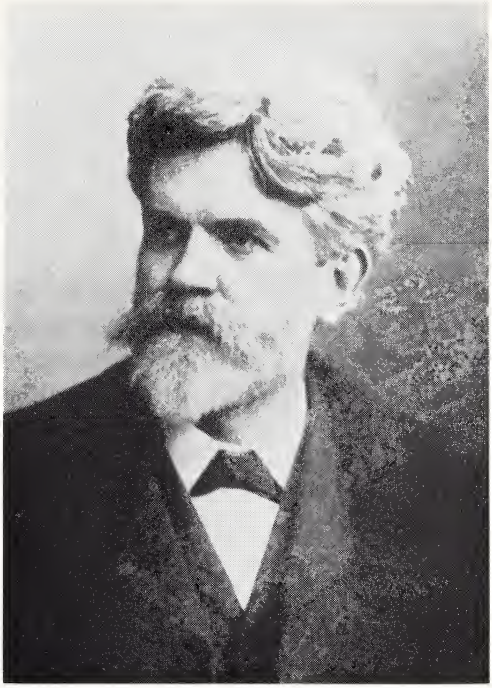
With these elements of his social scene in mind, the text of the novel can be examined more adequately. In the story Eggleston devotes considerably more space to the details of life, especially the domestic and religious. In the following passage there is a conscious effort for the detail demanded by Taine:

Or how should he [Morton, the hero] know that the wide old log-kitchen, with its loom in one corner, its vast fireplace, wherein sit the two huge, black andirons, and wherein swings an iron crane on which hang pothooks with iron pots depending — the old kitchen, with its bark-covered joists high overhead, from which are festooned strings of drying pumkins — how should Morton Goodwin know that this wide old kitchen, with its rare centre-piece of a fine-featured, fresh-hearted young girl straining every nerve to spin two dozen cuts of yarn in a day, would make a *genre* piece, the subject of which would be good enough for one of the old Dutch masters?[14]

The religious life of the region dominates the story, and Eggleston makes an extensive and candid effort to sketch a full picture of its influence upon the people. Some of his passages read like social history:

It is hard for us to understand the elements that produced such incredible excitements as resulted from the early Methodist preaching. How at a camp-meeting, for instance, five hundred people, indifferent enough to everything of the sort one hour before, should be seized during a sermon with terror — should cry aloud to God for mercy, some of them falling in trances and cataleptic uncon-

13. *The Circuit Rider* (New York, 1874), v.
14. *Ibid.*, 56.



Edward Eggleston. Photograph from the Meserve Collection, courtesy Mrs. Philip B. Kunhardt, Morristown, New Jersey.

sciousness; and how, out of all this excitement, there should come forth, in very many cases, the fruit of transformed lives seems to us a puzzle beyond solution.[15]

Eggleston attempts further to explain the peculiar relationship of religion and character in relation to environment when he writes,

The terribleness of Indian warfare, the relentlessness of their own revengefulness, the sudden lynchings, the abandoned wickedness of the lawless, and the ruthlessness of mobs of "regulators" were a background upon which they [the people] founded the most materialistic conception of hell and the most literal understanding of the Day of Judgment.[16]

Or again, as he admonishes his contemporary reader:

Had you, fastidious Methodist friend, who listen to organs and choirs and refined preachers, as you sit in your cushioned pew — had you lived in Ohio sixty years ago, would you have belonged

15. *Ibid.,* 104.
16. *Ibid.*

to the Methodists. . . . Not at all! . . . your musical and poetical taste [would have been] outraged by their ditties, your grammatical knowledge shocked beyond recovery by their English; you could never have worshipped in an excitement that . . . threw weak saints and obstinate sinners alike into the contortions of the jerks.[17]

Moreover, Eggleston considers in retrospect the historical influence of Methodism on the region:

For without them [the Methodists] there must have been barbarism, worse than that of Arkansas and Texas. Methodism was to the West all that Puritanism was to New England. Both of them are sublime when considered historically; neither of them were very agreeable to live with, maybe.[18]

It will be advantageous to pause for a moment and consider the nature of Eggleston's realism up to this point. It has been suggested that as his concept of realism evolved and became more inclusive, more positive, he also became progressively more articulate about the aims of his art. The realism of his initial work had consisted of a faithful record of the language and social customs of people in a particular region. This picture of "real life" was limited to a transcription of externals: the popular speech and manners. Later the presentation of history entered into his conception of the realistic novel. From then on, Eggleston tended to interpret what he recorded. An examination of the text of *The Circuit Rider* shows that the faithful and consistent use of dialect still prevails and that the influence of Taine is even more pronounced (the description of Patty in her kitchen), but there is still no adequate description of the physical environment.

The realism of *The Circuit Rider* is, however, more sig-

17. *Ibid.*, 158.
18. *Ibid.*, 159.

nificant than that of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster,* which contains practically no probing for cause and effect. In *The Circuit Rider,* for instance, the author investigates the social heritages of his characters in an attempt to explain their various reactions against the Methodist religion (and apparently there were violent reactions). The heroine, Patty Lumsden, found the rude, vulgar "lowness" of Methodism distasteful after her refined, genteel "Old Virginia" upbringing. The ordinary backwoodsman disliked the encroaching Methodism for different reasons; it demanded a strict discipline: no dances, no revelries with whiskey at corn shuckings, and – for the women – not the least bit of jewelry. Eggleston sees the Methodist religion historically as a control for what "must have been barbarism."

In this later work Eggleston's view of human nature was more realistically balanced. Both the virtues and vices of his characters are exposed. He addresses the reader:

> You do not like Morton in his vacillating state of mind as he rides toward Salt Fork, weighing considerations of right and wrong, of duty and disinclination, in the balance. He is not an epic hero, for epic heroes act straightforwardly, they either know by intuition just what is right, or they are like Milton's Satan, unencumbered with a sense of duty. But Morton was neither infallible nor a devil.[19]

In the preface to the library edition of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1892) Eggleston presents a complete retrospective statement of what he had been trying to do as a novelist. He calls the *Schoolmaster* "the file leader of the procession of American dialect novels."[20]

He regarded himself as having broadened the field of regional realism in American literature, a regionalism that

19. *Ibid.,* 243.
20. *The Hoosier Schoolmaster,* 6.

had previously been confined to New England. In an article entitled "Formative Influences," which appeared in the *Forum* for November, 1890, Eggleston makes a significant statement,

> If I were a dispassionate critic, and were set to judge my own novels as the writings of another, I should have to say that what distinguishes them from other works of fiction is the prominence which they give to social conditions; that the individual characters are here treated to a greater degree than elsewhere as parts of a study of society — as in some sense the logical results of the environment . . . I am mainly interested in the evolution of society.[21]

Eggleston's interest in "folks" "as parts of society" and "the logical results of environment" was to lead him on to the role of social historian. In 1896 his volume *The Beginners of a Nation* appeared. The interest shown here in the "evolution of society" is attributed to the influence of Darwin, whose principles of natural evolution governed Eggleston's concept of history as also one of selective evolutionary progress. The Darwinian influence in the United States was apparently a gradual one — Eggleston did not publicly accept the Darwinian theory until 1887. Although the novelist sought for causes and effects in his later fiction, his acceptance of the theory of evolution apparently did not cause him to reverse his theories about the purposes of literature and art but merely to enlarge his scope as a social historian, reinforcing his youthful social optimism.

21. *Forum*, X (Nov., 1890): 286-87.

John J. Duff, 1902-1961

"On a March day in 1837 there fatefully stood before the Clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court a tall, melancholy man of twenty-eight who, with right hand upraised, swore to 'in all things faithfully execute the duties of Attorney and Counsellor at Law.' " With these simple words John J. Duff opened his finely wrought study of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer. What followed represented five faithful and attentive years during which time he examined thousands of legal documents and read through stacks of early correspondence. In tracing the full story of the "Prairie Lawyer" John Duff followed Lincoln's footsteps over the old Eighth Judicial Circuit and spent days visiting old courthouses of Illinois. With infinite patience and careful attention to detail he studied for weeks and months in the Library of Congress, in the Illinois State Historical Library, and wherever a document, letter, or any written word could be found that would add something to the portrait of lawyer Lincoln which he was fashioning. Coupled with this exhausting search was the mountain of reading which had to be done. When John Duff finally sat down to write *A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer,* his note folders filled two file cabinet drawers and nine loose-leaf notebooks.

This was John Duff at work. A Lincoln student from his youth, he was a man of quiet patience who made great demands upon himself in order to write a comprehensive and yet human account of Lincoln and his profession. In his writing he was ever mindful of the general reader and tried to portray Lincoln and his work as a lawyer so that all might read and understand. Carl Sandburg hailed the finished product as "plainly the definitive book on Lincoln as a lawyer . . . one of the classics on the Lincoln shelf."

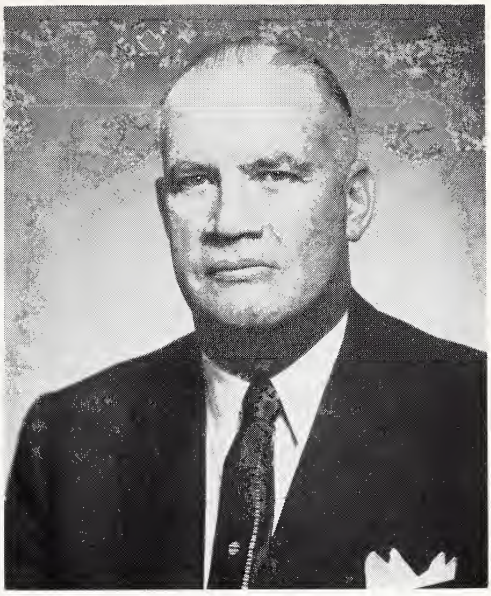
John Duff was a man of sensitive awareness. Having steeped himself in the Lincoln story, he was able to write with understanding. As a lawyer himself he understood what it was Lincoln accom-

plished: starting out as a rough-hewn jack-of-all-trades of New Salem and becoming a respected Springfield attorney who would be considered a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

What the law demands of a man is all too frequently lost in the endless routines of the job. John Duff felt that whatever abilities and talents he brought to his chosen profession were so dissipated in the countless criminal cases he worked with as to be undiscernible. Only in his study of Lincoln as a lawyer did he find expression for his true abilities. Somewhere far back in his youth he had wanted to devote his life to journalism. A childhood siege of polio crippled him and perhaps brought with it a decision to seek his fortune in another profession. Through his active years of practice the law had earned him a good living and had provided him with the material things he enjoyed. He found pleasure in good music, the opera, and the ballet. He read good books and had an extensive library of the classics as well as a fine working library dealing with Abraham Lincoln. He played the piano, studied languages, and enjoyed travel. His New York apartment reflected his warm and friendly personality, and with his gracious and charming wife, Mindelle, he enjoyed the best of everything New York had to offer.

John Duff was born in New York City on July 20, 1902, and he died there on March 24, 1961. He went to New York's public schools and studied at Fordham and Columbia University's Law School. Immediately after passing his bar examination he opened his own private law office. Over the years he acquired a reputation as an able criminal lawyer and frequently found himself burdened with more work than a one-man law office could handle. In spite of the pressures of his day he was an active member of the Civil War Round Table of New York as a member of the program committee and as chairman of its constitution and law committee. He was also a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, the Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin, and the New York County Lawyers' Association.

During World War II John Duff was a member of a New York City draft board. He did his work with conscientious fairness and received a citation and the Selective Service Medal. Although public-spirited he made all his contributions to the community quietly and without comment.



John J. Duff — his A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer *is "one of the classics on the Lincoln shelf."*

As a Lincoln student John Duff never lost his desire to make a lasting contribution to the body of Lincoln literature. As a result of conversations with the late Harry E. Pratt and Benjamin P. Thomas he concluded that a study of Lincoln and his profession was best suited for his talents.

While many biographers of Abraham Lincoln have ascribed countless reasons for the greatness of the man, practically none had shown how Lincoln's hard training at the law shaped him. The moving portrait which emerged from John Duff's account is the inspired story of Abraham Lincoln, traveling the judicial circuit, taking cases for which he never was to receive a fee or returning part of a fee paid him, listening to his fellow citizens and acquiring a great and lasting understanding of the nation and its direction. It is the rich saga of Abraham Lincoln, studying the principles upon which the nation was founded, knowing so well what the founding fathers strived to achieve that he could use his understanding of their purposes as the essential theme of his famous Cooper Union address and as the cornerstone of his entire public service.

Out of his exhaustive reading John Duff came away puzzled that Lincoln's "biographers, generally speaking, should not have sensed the law's tremendous influence upon his every act as President. The ability to create the immortal utterance at Gettysburg,

the first and second inaugural addresses, and all the wonderfully expressive state papers with which his name is associated — literary masterpieces which will endure for all time — sprang in large part from his training in the law, which gave him the ability to think and write with precision. The knowledge of men and laws which he acquired in the practice of the law was repeatedly applied by him in administering the affairs of the government in the trying years of the nation's great crisis, when delicate legal and Constitutional questions were constantly presenting themselves for consideration."

Over the years a shelf of classic studies of the various aspects of Lincoln's life and works has been taking form. A large gap on that shelf was the need for a definitive study of Lincoln as a lawyer. That gap was filled when John Duff wrote his book, a work which will assuredly endure. Lincoln students of today and tomorrow have cause to appreciate John Duff's dedication and devotion.

ARNOLD GATES

Arnold Gates has been a Lincoln student for nearly thirty years, and he is now literary editor of Lincoln Herald *and a member of the bibliography committee for* Lincoln Lore. *He is a member of the committee on advertising for the national Civil War Centennial Commission and the advisory committee of the New York Civil War Centennial Commission.*

Historical Notes

The Thomas Reynolds Confusion

For nearly one hundred years historical writers, and others, have confused the Thomas Reynolds who was a chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court and the seventh governor of Missouri with Thomas Reynolds the brother of Illinois' fourth governor. The error has persisted, despite the statements of such men as John M. Scott, who wrote in 1896:

> Of Chief Justice Thomas Reynolds [of the Illinois Supreme Court], persons that knew him, all bear the same testimony, he was a very able and learned lawyer and made a good judge. Many modern writers speak of him as a younger brother and others as a nephew of Judge John Reynolds.[1] *But neither statement is correct.* The fact is the Chief Justice was in no way related to Justice John Reynolds.[2] Some years after his defeat, Chief Justice Thomas Reynolds went to Missouri and perhaps remained there until his death. Judge John Reynolds had a brother Thomas Reynolds. In early life he was a farmer. Later he moved into Belleville, kept a livery stable for a time and afterwards had a store for the sale of dry goods. He died in that city.[3]

Thomas Reynolds (1796-1844), Son of Nathaniel

More detailed biographical information about the Missouri governor has been supplied by Miss Harriet Shoemaker of Bristol,

1. George W. Smith said that Chief Justice Thomas Reynolds was the uncle of Justice John Reynolds and the latter's brother Thomas. Both Thomases were born in the same year. See Smith's *History of Illinois and Her People* (Chicago and New York, 1927), II: 64. Miss Harriet Shoemaker, whose sketch of Governor Thomas Reynolds is printed below, can find no U.S. or European connection between the two Reynolds families. Thomas Caute Reynolds (1821-1887), Confederate governor of Missouri, did share common ancestry with the earlier Governor Thomas Reynolds.

2. The two Reynoldses were on the court at the same time. John became a justice in 1818 and Thomas in 1822. Both were defeated in 1824.

3. John M. Scott, *Supreme Court of Illinois, 1818: Its First Judges and Lawyers; Short Sketches* (Bloomington, Ill., 1896), 134-35. Scott was wrong about the place of Thomas's death; he died in 1864 near Junction City, Kansas.

Tennessee, secretary-historian of the Reynolds Family Association and a relative of her subject:

Thomas Reynolds, seventh governor of Missouri, was born in Bracken County, Kentucky, March 12, 1796. He was the son of Nathaniel and Christine Vernon Reynolds, who came to Barren County, Kentucky, from Virginia in 1791; moved later to Hardin County, then to Bracken County. Thomas Reynolds was married September 2, 1823, to Eliza Ann Young. They had one son, Ambrose Dudley, born 1824.

Thomas Reynolds completed his scholastic education, including law, while still in his teens, and was admitted to the Kentucky bar by the time he was twenty-one years of age. While still in his early twenties he emigrated with his family to Springfield, Illinois,[4] where he soon won recognition. He served as clerk of the Illinois House of Representatives [1818-1822], . . . [member] of the house [1826-1828], and, from August 31, 1822, to January 19, 1825, as chief justice of the Illinois State Supreme Court . . . [in which capacity he served also as] judge of a circuit court.

Thomas Reynolds went to Missouri about 1829 and settled with his wife and son, first at Fayette, Howard County. In 1832 he was elected to represent Howard County in the General Assembly, and served as speaker of the house. Governor Lillburn W. Boggs nominated Mr. Reynolds for the judgeship of the second judicial circuit of Missouri, January 25, 1837. Three years later at the 1840 Democratic convention in Jefferson City, Thomas Reynolds was nominated for the governorship almost by acclamation. . . .

Governor Reynolds's death was a tragedy. For more than two years before his term of office expired he had been in ill health, and was in a melancholic frame of mind, imagining his enemies were slandering him, and on February 9, 1844, some ten months before his term expired, Governor Reynolds committed suicide in his office at the executive mansion in Jefferson City by shooting himself. In a note left to a friend, Colonel William Minor, the reason given for this act was "slander by my political enemies." This was purely imaginative; he had no enemies, political or otherwise, for Thomas Reynolds

4. He was licensed to practice in the Gallatin County Circuit Court on Aug. 25, 1817, and in the Madison County Circuit Court on Nov. 3 of that year; see Francis S. Philbrick, ed., *Pope's Digest,* Vol. I *(Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXVIII, Springfield, 1938), xliii. No record of Thomas's residence in Sangamon County has been found. He represented Randolph County in the General Assembly, and it seems likely that he lived there.

was one of the most popular and beloved men in the state of Missouri, and to show their love and affection for him, the state of Missouri erected a granite shaft at his grave in Jefferson City in 1846, and the county of Reynolds was named for him.

Governor Reynolds's son, Ambrose Dudley Reynolds, was married in Jefferson City about 1843, during his father's administration, to Frances Wilton Basye, daughter of Major Alfred Basye of Jefferson City. They were the parents of the following children: *Thomas Young; Rose M.,* who married John Hart Stuart; *Ann Eliza,* married ——— Adams; *Ambrose Dudley, Jr.,* married Martha Sumpteri; *Spencer Pettis,* married Jessie M. Gaw; *Rector Barton;* and *Leona,* who married a Mr. Timmons.

THOMAS REYNOLDS'S FAMILY CHART

1) Christopher Reynolds m. Elizabeth, 1st ancestor to Virginia, 1622
2) Richard m. Elizabeth Sharp in Isle of Wight County, Virginia
3) Richard, Jr. m. Mary Anderson in Surry County, Virginia
4) William m. Elizabeth Mossom in Surry County, Virginia
5) Nathaniel m. Catherine Vernon, moved to Kentucky, 1791
6) Thomas C. m. Eliza Young in Bracken County, Kentucky
7) Ambrose Dudley m. Frances Wilton Basye
8) Thomas, Rose M., Ann E., Ambrose D., Spencer P., Rector B., Leona

Thomas Reynolds (1796-1864), Son of Robert

Robert and Margaret Moore Reynolds, who were born in Ireland, came to the United States in 1785. They were parents of the following children:

	Born	*Where*	*Married to*
John	February 26, 1788	Pennsylvania	Catherine Dubuque 1817, Sarah E. Wilson 1836
James	about 1790	Tennessee	Sarah (Sally) Alice Black 1817
Robert, Jr.	" 1792	"	Sally Whiteside 1816
Julia	" 1794	"	George Belsha *ca.* 1816
Thomas Michael[5]	August 28, 1796	"	Mary Ann (Polly) McDonough, October 29, 1817
Nancy	about 1798	"	William Davis 1827

5. The middle name "Michael" is given in his wife's obituary in the *Belleville Advocate,* Aug. 3, 1883.

The dates of birth of all, except John and Thomas, are approximated. Governor John Reynolds states, both in his *Pioneer History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1887 ed.), pages 298-300, and *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879 ed.), pages 1-3, 13-14, that his parents and six children left Tennessee in February, 1800, for Illinois. From the same sources we know that John was six months old when the family moved to Tennessee.[6] Madison County land records show that on August 28, 1817, Thomas Reynolds received certain lands that had been held in trust for him until he became twenty-one years of age.[7]

One of the few extant documents written by Governor John Reynolds's brother Thomas, a letter to Ninian Edwards, appears in the Chicago Historical Society's *Edwards Papers,* published in 1884 (pages 190-91):

EDWARDSVILLE, the 6th Feb., 1822.

DEAR SIR:—There has been and is a great fuss here about the office of Governor here. Edward Coles, Joseph Philips, and J. B. Moore appear to be the only candidates at present spoken of; if no other should offer there is no doubt but Philips will be elected. My brother has been spoken of, but at present he has declared and says that he will not offer. You have been spoken of, and of late I have heard that if you were elected you would serve as it is a great distance from there to the City of Washington for you to travel as you are not well and have a great deal of business to attend to at home, which is not seen to when you are from home.

If you would accept of the office of Governor and make it known in time there is no doubt but you would be elected with ease. Tho' there is no doubt but there is some electioneering tale or other will start against you or any other person that will offer, tho' that will all amount to but little or perhaps help the cause or help your election, as it is well known by the old citizens of this State that you done a great deal for it when it wanted help or when it was a Territory.

6. In addition to Governor Reynolds's books, see John F. Snyder, *Adam W. Snyder, and His Period in Illinois History, 1817-1842* (Virginia, Ill., 1906), 300-301. Documentation of marriage records is given in the author's "Legend of Julia Ann Reynolds" (mineographed copy in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield) and will be published in his history of the Reynolds family.

7. Book B, pp. 51, 89, 90; Book C, pp. 42, 54, 189, 253, in Madison County Recorder's Office.

If you conclude to offer or accept of the office you had better let it be known in time.

It is well known that you have certain enemies and offer for what you may they will be against you tho' fortunately they can not do much at present.

I have purchased a piece of land that was nothing done with it in time agreeable to law which lies in St. Clair County; and was entered in the Kaskaskia Land Office. I wished to forfeit some I have in the Edwardsville Land Office that I have already taken the long instalments tho' I have but little hopes of being permitted to do this, tho' I have no doubt but further time will be given to those that did not come in due time and relinquish or take the longer credit as the time was too short from the time the Land Offices received their forms to the time limited by law was out that people at a distance could not come in due time. You will please to inform me on this subject soon, as I wish to know what to depend upon as respects my land. I am, sir, with great respect,

Your most ob't and hum. serv't, &c.,
THOMAS REYNOLDS, JR.

The Hon. Ninian Edwards,
Senator in Congress,
Washington City.

No explanation, after extensive research, can be given for Thomas's use of "Jr." in his signature. None of his forbears, for several generations, had been named Thomas.

Elihu B. Washburne, who edited the *Edwards Papers,* added the following note:

> Thomas Reynolds was a brother of Governor John Reynolds of this State. It is interesting as showing the political condition of things in Illinois in 1822, and prior to the election of Edward Coles as governor, in August of that year. The letter is badly written, and shows that the writer had but a limited education. Thomas Reynolds was the clerk of the first and second House of Representatives in this State. He removed to Missouri in 1828; and in 1840 was elected governor of the State.

Washburne's identification of the two Thomases as one is probably principally responsible for the continuing confusion about the men.

A full biographical portrait of Thomas the son of Robert is still impossible, but the following chronology lists some of the major events of his life and gives conclusive evidence that only Thomas

the brother of John could have written the 1822 letter to Edwards. In addition to sources cited after entries, the chronology is based on family Bible records, census and county court records, and the obituary of Thomas's widow, which was published in the *Belleville Advocate* of August 3, 1883.

1800 At age of about four years came with his family from Knox County, Tennessee, to Kaskaskia, Illinois.

1807 Moved with his parents, three brothers, and two sisters to Goshen settlement, about four miles southwest of Edwardsville (*My Own Times,* 64).

1813 Served in the War of 1812 in Captain William B. Whiteside's company, alongside his three brothers (*ibid.,* 86, 91).

October 29, 1817 Married Mary Ann (Polly) McDonough at her home, two miles northeast of Ellis Grove, Randolph County, Illinois (Francis S. Philbrick, ed., *Pope's Digest,* Vol. I [*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXVIII, Springfield, 1938], xliii; George Belsha Bible; on Polly McDonough's father, see Reynolds, *Pioneer History,* 143, 216-19). He returned with his bride to the Goshen settlement in Madison County. According to Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917), 144, 354, Thomas Reynolds and his brother John were partners in a store there; see their advertisement in the *Illinois Intelligencer* (Edwardsville), June 17, 1818. Bible records show that his two eldest daughters were born in Madison County in 1819 and 1821.

1820 Served as census taker in Madison County (Margaret C. Norton, ed., *Illinois Census Returns, 1820* [*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXVI, Springfield, 1934], 175).

1822 Moved to St. Clair County, Illinois, and settled adjacent to the old Lementon Station, midway between Freeburg and New Athens. The home site was at Belsha Ridge in Twelve Mile Prairie, and there the Reynoldses are said to have built the first brick house in that part of the country.

Spring, 1832 Served in the Black Hawk War as a private (April 18-May 28) in Captain William Moore's Company, First

Regiment, Whiteside's Brigade (Muster Rolls, Illinois State Historical Library; *My Own Times,* 238).

November 15, 1832 Appointed by Governor John Reynolds to serve with James D. Henry, Samuel Whiteside, and William Moore as commissioners to investigate Potawatomi Indian disturbances on the Illinois frontier (Reynolds Letter Book, Black Hawk War Collection, Illinois State Historical Library).

April 8, 1833 Appointed a commissioner to collect state arms that had been issued in 1831 and 1832 to Black Hawk War soldiers (*ibid.*).

April 27, 1833 Published a notice in the *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield) that he would soon be in Springfield to collect state arms. The *House Journal* of 1834-1835, page 54, reports two payments to Thomas for this duty.

1836 Helped to lay out the town of New Athens (Snyder, *Adam W. Snyder,* 206); A. W. Snyder to James Semple, April 4, 1836, in J. F. Snyder Collection, Illinois State Historical Library, reports Reynolds's plan to lay out the town which Snyder feared would offer competition to the town he and Semple were promoting).

November 9, 1839 Sold his farm at Lementon to his brother-in-law George Belsha for $3,700 (deed records in St. Clair County) and moved to Belleville, where he engaged in business. Miss Josephine L. Harper, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, who wrote her doctoral dissertation on John Reynolds (University of Illinois, 1949) states that Thomas operated a dry goods store, a livery stable, and a grocery (or liquor) store; see *Belleville Advocate,* April 4, 24, 1840, Oct. 8, 1841.

Ca. 1850 Moved to Westport, Missouri, where he engaged in the business of outfitting immigrant trains. (The 1850 date is given in Mrs. Reynolds's obituary, but the date is in doubt. Thomas may have been living in Missouri as early as 1845. In a letter to the Justice of Probate of St. Clair County, October 6, 1845, John Reynolds stated that he "was one of the children of the said Margaret Reynolds, de'c'd, and the only one now a resident of the said State" [that is, Illinois].)

1853 Took up ranching near Junction City, Kansas. His cabin in Ogden Township was the first dwelling in Riley County (A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* . . . [Chicago, 1883], 1301).

September 23, 1864 Died of pneumonia. The Junction City *Smoky Hill and Republican Union* reported his death in the September 24 issue: "Thomas Reynolds, one of the oldest Settlers of Western Kansas, died at his residence near this place yesterday morning, at an advanced age."

Thomas Reynolds's family consisted of his wife, who died in St. Clair County, Illinois, in 1883, and nine children:

Mary Ann, born 1819, married James M. Chewning 1836, died 1869 in St. Clair County.

Catherine, born October 21, 1821, married John E. Belsha 1839, died December 26, 1903, in St. Clair County.

James, born 1824.

Margaret, born March 13, 1828, married William Withers 1846, Daniel Drake 1860, died August 30, 1904, in Higley, Oklahoma, as Mrs. James T. Conyers.

Robert, born February 19, 1829, married Jennie Walbridge 1876, died August 25, 1878, at Junction City, Kansas.

Thomas Marcus, born July 9, 1830, married Elizabeth Massey 1852, died August 2, 1868, near Junction City, Kansas.

George, born 1832, killed in Indian war in Colorado, on April 29, 1864, according to one family Bible and in 1865, according to another.

John, born 1835.

Martha Jane, born November 5, 1845, married John E. Tate 1867 in St. Clair County, Illinois, died January 19, 1924, in same county.

William G. Livingstone
Pasadena, California

Book Reviews

ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, ABOLITIONIST EDITOR
By Merton L. Dillon. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1961. Pp. 190. $4.75.)

Apart from the execution of John Brown at Harpers Ferry there is probably no more dramatic event leading to the Civil War than the death of Elijah P. Lovejoy at Alton, Illinois, on November 7, 1837. This frontier tragedy sent its shock wave abroad so violently that the entire antislavery world, and indeed proslavery and neutralist groups who believed in freedom of speech, erupted in dismay and anger. As far away as New York City a great commemorative service was held for Lovejoy, and John Quincy Adams wrote a foreword to a memoir of his life.

Professor Dillon's biography begins with Lovejoy at twenty-four slowly and painfully making his way from his native state of Maine to the rugged and ebullient Midwest where, ten years later, he would, far less by anything he said than by the fatal circumstances in which he enmeshed himself, electrify, for a brief time at least, the consciences of northern citizens. The earlier events of Lovejoy's career — his editing in St. Louis, his activities as preacher and evangelist, and his gradual metamorphosis into an antislavery gadfly — are told quite matter-of-factly, but when Professor Dillon comes to the final events of Lovejoy's life the same factuality transforms itself into pure drama.

Lovejoy issued a call for a convention of the "friends of free inquiry" to meet in Alton late in October, 1837. Edward Beecher, upset by Lovejoy's restriction of delegates to those believing slavery a sin which must be immediately abandoned, attempted to broaden the convention into a defense of civil rights. The resulting confusion enabled Usher F. Linder, attorney general of Illinois (and the "villain" of the biography) to completely overturn the convention. Thereafter events steadily darkened toward the inevitable. We get a sharp and stirring picture of the rise of two immovable forces — on the one hand, a minority of Alton people absolutely determined that Lovejoy's new press should be destroyed on its arrival, on the other Lovejoy himself, convinced that he stood before his God as a symbol not only of antislavery but of civil liberty.

We become active participants in the events, beginning with the arrival of the press at 3 A.M. by steamboat, its quick storage in a riverside warehouse, the hasty for-

mation of a contingent of militia to protect it, the organization of the mob in the Tontine, a popular saloon, the march to the warehouse, the opening of the battle with stones thrown through windows, the shift from stones to guns, and finally we see Lovejoy's body riddled by bullets when he stepped outside to prevent the mob from setting the warehouse roof on fire.

Dillon's handling of his material is judicious and fair. He attempts not merely to evaluate the sectional and national issues but also to discover the philosophical principles involved. For instance, he points to the spinelessness of Mayor Krum and other Alton political leaders and to the great mass of the Indifferents, to the Pilates who wash their hands but who may be finally responsible for many of the catastrophes of history. Even in the final moment before Lovejoy's death many Alton citizens stood stolidly and fearfully by and "utterly refused to accept the view that they bore a solemn responsibility to maintain civil rights." Because he has attempted to understand the larger implications of his subject, Professor Dillon's study is something more than the biography of Lovejoy or the history of an event.

Many famous antislavery names appear in the book — Garrison, Weld, Birney, the Tappans — and many restricted more nearly to antislavery in Illinois, such as David Nelson, Owen Lovejoy, and, particularly, Edward Beecher, president of Illinois College. In his bibliographical notes Dillon declares that Beecher's published account of the Alton riots is "probably the most eloquent defense of freedom of inquiry ever written in this country."

Dr. Dillon is associate professor of history at Texas Technological College and one of the editors of the *Journal of Southern History.*

CLYDE S. KILBY
Wheaton College

IMMIGRATION AND AMERICAN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Edited by Henry Steele Commager. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1961. Pp. x, 166. $4.50.)

"Historian and university administrator, writer for the scholar and the layman, . . . ballad collector (and singer) and member in good standing of the Baker Street Irregulars." So Henry Steele Commager describes Theodore C. Blegen, whose retirement in 1960 as dean of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota was the occasion for a conference on "Immigration and American History," the theme reflecting the most "persistent and pervasive" of Dean Blegen's many interests. A number of distinguished historians

prepared papers for this conference, and eight of their essays appear in this volume, along with one by Dean Blegen himself and a foreword and introduction by Professor Commager.

That Dean Blegen should be honored by the publication of such a book is certainly proper. He has written innumerable articles and many books, including a "magisterial" history of Norwegian immigration to the United States. Of Norwegian descent, he also served for thirty-five years as managing editor of publications for the Norwegian-American Historical Association and has searched out, translated, and published many of the "America Letters" and ballads which did so much to stimulate immigration to this country and to fix for the Old World an image (not necessarily accurate) of the New.

Dean Blegen did not, however, confine his work to one field, as a glance at the bibliography of his publications readily reveals. Our graduate schools are frequently accused of producing narrow specialists, but here is a man who administered a graduate school and wrote significantly on the problems of graduate education and at the same time carried on a full program of historical research, writing, and editing. No narrow specialist he, and this, too, deserves applause and emulation.

But back to the book. Of the contributors, the most provocative, perhaps, is Oscar Handlin, director of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty at Harvard University and a Pulitzer Prize winner for his own study of immigration, *The Uprooted*. Discussing "Immigration in American Life: A Reappraisal," Handlin examines the effects upon immigrants of the disruption of their "traditional communal life," pointing out that "the immigrants experienced in an extreme form what other modern men have felt — the consequences of the breakdown of traditional communal life. This decisive development . . . has significantly influenced American character . . . [and] significant sectors of American life. . . . In family life and in the economy, the isolation of the individual, the erosion of traditional functions, and the pressure of new conditions form a situation within which many of the characteristic traits of American society were molded."

Other well-written essays include those by Ingrid Semmingsen, a Norwegian historian, on the European image of America; Philip D. Jordan, professor of history at the University of Minnesota, on the immigrants' views of native Americans; and John T. Flanagan, professor of English at the University of Illinois, on the immigrant as a subject for and producer of literature. Also represented in the collection are Carlton C. Qualey, chairman of the department of history at Carle-

ton College; Henry A. Pochmann, professor of American literature at the University of Wisconsin; Franklin D. Scott, professor of history at Northwestern University; and the Rev. Colman J. Barry, associate professor of history at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota.

In the concluding essay, "The Saga of the Immigrant," Dean Blegen reviews the work already done in the field of immigration history and points out some of the "inviting opportunities for research" hitherto neglected. In this last he is joined by several of his fellow writers, and if the book has a weakness, it is the inclusion in so short a volume of so much material listing what remains to be studied. Presentation of new findings or fresh reinterpretations of old ones would have done as much, and perhaps more, to stimulate young scholars' interest in immigration as a field of study and would certainly have made the book more attractive to the layman.

The University of Minnesota Press has, as is its custom, done a handsome job of bookmaking. And how nice to find the footnotes where they belong — at the bottom of the page!

PHYLLIS E. CONNOLLY
Stamford, Connecticut

BORAH

By Marian C. McKenna. (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1961. Pp. 450. $7.50.)

William E. Borah was his name, and although he was best known as Idaho's biggest potato and most important export, he was born and reared in Fairfield, Illinois. Few men claimed to understand him during his thirty-three years in the United States Senate, and few would make the effort now had the task not been lightened by this first scholarly biography of the man.

To Americans old enough to recall the political headlines of the thirties, Borah needs little introduction. To the younger generation he needs all the introduction he can get. He started as an ambitious Illinois farm boy who worked out his education largely in Kansas and soon afterward made good as a corporation and criminal lawyer in Boise, Idaho. His most famous case there was the prosecution in 1907 of mine leader William Haywood for conspiring in the murder of former governor Frank Steunenberg. Even before that, however, Idahoans had decided they liked him well enough to send him to the United States Senate. And there they kept him until his death in early 1940. After learning something of third-party politics from his bolt to the Silver Re-

publicans in 1896, he remained a nominal Republican throughout his Senate career. But no one was fooled. In 1912 he declared his disapproval of all the presidential candidates, and did so again in 1924 and 1936. In the first and last of these he was himself up for re-election and won easily.

Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee under — and sometimes over — the Coolidge and Harding administrations, Borah is best remembered as the isolationist who fought first the League of Nations, then the World Court, and finally aid to the Allies in 1939. And isolationist is the exact term for him in its political sense. He saw the importance of foreign trade and advocated recognition of Russia for eleven years before it was granted in 1933. But his diplomacy was inspired above all by reverence for Washington's farewell warning against alliances that might entangle Americans in the hatreds and sins of the Old World. His approach to world leadership was the Kellogg-Briand Pact, a measure he advocated because it permitted no enforcement. There was a similar political romanticism, Miss McKenna shows, in his domestic progressivism. For within the limits set by his geographic origin and his constitutional views he was a progressive of sorts, championing, for example, the income tax amendment, popular election of senators, and wartime civil liberties. There was also a humanitarian passion in his fight against Hoover for direct relief money in 1931.

Miss McKenna is not the most graceful of writers, but she has succeeded admirably in the biographer's essential task of bringing her subject to life and letting him speak for himself. Inevitably, some readers will quarrel with her rebuttals on occasion; this reviewer found them judicious and informed. This is a critical biography in the best sense. The eloquent and courageous Illinoisan from Idaho could do far worse than to let this lady have the last word.

THOMAS E. FELT
The College of Wooster

GROWTH OF COOK COUNTY

By Charles B. Johnson. (Board of Commissioners of Cook County: Chicago, 1960. Pp. xii, 321. $4.50.)

Growth of Cook County, Volume 1, is a valuable and highly informative addition to the history of the County of Cook.

The book readily lends itself to browsing, thumbing, or studious reading. Facts are related in a homespun fashion, and engaging human interest stories and anecdotes abound. It has an intriguing lucidity and brings up to date the development of the

County of Cook. Many contemporaries of the reviewer are mentioned in its pages.

The scope of activities of Daniel Pope Cook, after whom the county was named, makes an amazing story, especially since he died at the age of thirty-three. His life was replete with adventure and achievement. A student's explanation of the type of government in the County of Cook is well presented. With true perspective the author has given much space to the origin, development, and progress of the Cook County Hospital (the largest hospital in the world under one roof), and the experiences of the county from the early operation of a poor farm to the great geriatric institution now at Oak Forest afford a treasure of information.

The author, Charles B. Johnson, who is now public relations director for the County of Cook, is a former newspaper reporter and press representative who has "covered the county" almost continuously since 1933. He appears to have lived with his work and his book, which is a welcome addition to the history of this great county.

It is good to know that this valuable volume has been distributed free by the Board of Commissioners of Cook County to all schools and libraries in the county.

Abraham L. Marovitz
Chicago

AMERICA'S POLISH HERITAGE: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE POLES IN AMERICA

By Joseph A. Wytrwal. (Endurance Press: Detroit, 1961. Pp. 350. $6.50.)

This volume provided very interesting reading for the reviewer who had only a very sketchy knowledge of the influence of the Polish-descended people in the United States. From a rough estimate by the tables that appear in the appendix of the book it would seem that in 1940 there were somewhat in excess of three million Poles in the United States and that Illinois was third among the states with a Polish population of nearly a half million in that same year.

Immigrants from various European countries made a very substantial addition to the population of the United States. These Europeans, says the author, had "to shed layer after layer of old habits and ways of thought, much as one peels an onion." The danger in this, according to Dr. Wytrwal, is that so many layers will be stripped off that nothing will be left. He feels that this did not happen in the United States. This book, then, is the account of the contribution of what was left of the Polish onion to the American stew.

There are many legends of earlier arrivals, but the first documented immigrants from Poland were a group of artisans who came to Jamestown in 1608. Within a few years there were fifty of these highly skilled individuals there. Thus the Poles have contributed to the history of the United States from the beginning. Many others came later in the colonial period, and some of them prospered. Poles were conspicuous among the foreigners who helped to win the Revolutionary War, the best known being Kosciusko and Pulaski, both experienced officers.

In recent times the Poles have had a rather important part politically in the United States. The Polish-American Congress has lobbied on many issues affecting the welfare of Poles either here or in Poland. A notable example was the agitation on the question of the partition of Poland after the Yalta Conference. Much pressure was brought to bear on both the President and on congressmen with large Polish constituencies.

Poles have also exerted an influence on American culture, first through the Kosciusko Foundation (1926-1941) and since that time through the Institute of Polish Arts and Sciences. These organizations have sponsored Chopin scholarships (once held by Van Cliburn), published works on Polish subjects, and arranged for an exchange of scholars with Poland.

The book is very well done in a technical way. It is well documented and generally seems objective enough, although the author understandably lets his indignation show occasionally when discussing recent events in Poland.

DONALD F. TINGLEY
Eastern Illinois University

A CIVIL WAR COOK BOOK
Compiled by Myrtle Ellison Smith. (Privately printed: Harrogate, Tenn., 1961. Pp. 286. $4.95.)

Chicken Fricassee (Charleston) on page 134 of Mrs. Smith's compilation proved a major hit in the reviewer's household one recent Sunday. And there are scores of other intriguing "receipts" to try: beverages, breads, cakes, candies, cookies, eggs, meats, pastries, pickles, salads, soups.

Mrs. Smith, who teaches home economics at Lincoln Memorial University, has done her research with a knowing eye.

The title of her book, however, is a misnomer, since the cook books cited in the bibliography range over a century, from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. It would have helped, too, to have the source for each recipe.

Wayne C. Temple has written

a short introduction reporting on the situation "At Lincoln's Table." Lincoln was a mechanical eater, the evidence is, eating for nourishment and not for taste, seldom seeming to enjoy his meals, rarely commenting on food served him. Thus there is a kind of sad disharmony between the facts of Dr. Temple's essay and the enticing pages which follow.

James Harvey Young
Emory University

TRIMMERS, TRUCKLERS & TEMPORIZERS: NOTES OF MURAT HALSTEAD FROM THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS OF 1856

Edited by William B. Hesseltine and Rex G. Fisher. (The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1961. Pp. 114. $3.50.)

Murat Halstead, one of the earliest practitioners of the present-day art of political punditing, was just getting his start at the time of the five political conventions of 1856. First the Know Nothings (American Party) met in Philadelphia on Washington's Birthday, then the Republicans held an organizational mass meeting in Pittsburgh, the Democrats met in Cincinnati, the northern Know Nothings (who bolted the earlier convention) met in New York, and the Republicans in Philadelphia in June. Halstead attended all of these conventions and telegraphed reports of their proceedings to his paper, the *Cincinnati Commercial,* and followed up with commentaries and editorials. This book is a collection of those writings, plus a stage-setting introduction by the editors.

As the title indicates, Halstead, from the beginning, held a pretty low opinion of politicians. He thought that the best man in each party should be nominated so that the voters would be given a clear-cut choice, but he knew that this would never happen because the delegates doing the nominating were a bunch of "trimmers, trucklers and temporizers."

Halstead was frequently wordy but never vague. A part of his opinion of Millard Fillmore, the Know Nothing nominee, read, "There is no body of the people of the United States — or at least a very small one — who desire, in this contest, to elect a man of negatives. Yet such a man Mr. Fillmore always was, and always will be. It is in his nature, and he cannot avoid it if he would."

His comment on Stephen A. Douglas read, in part: "An exposed political empyric; a dishonest truckler for unsound popularity; a false pretender to notions of honor, and a foul-mouthed bully self-convicted of cowardice,

though a coat of whitewash a foot in thickness would not cause him to pass for a gentleman, it cannot be denied that he will make a most admirable candidate."

The Democratic platform, Halstead said, was "a collection of politico-literary absurdities and enormities, in the name of which damnable deeds have been committed, and may be again." And of the Democratic candidate, James Buchanan: "All his life a mere appendage to some party, the only effect of the brilliant opportunities which he has enjoyed, has been to demonstrate his total want of all elements of greatness . . . his only quality being the absence of all qualities."

Halstead was much easier on John C. Frémont, the Republican candidate, about whom he admittedly knew very little, so he added, "The faith in him was very remarkable, and was, to me, to a great degree unaccountable." Nor did the writer know much about Abraham Lincoln, who was a candidate for the vice-presidential nomination. In his report on this contest he said, "The strongest opponent of Mr. [William] Dayton [of New Jersey] was Colonel Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. It was supposed that Illinois was a doubtful state, and her delegates asked for Lincoln. But there were more apprehensions concerning Jersey than Illinois, and as the Pennsylvanians could not agree upon a man of their state, Jersey named Dayton, and he was at once the man."

Halstead concluded his remarks on the Republican slate by saying, "I think this idea of thus conciliating uncalled for and injudicious, and the ticket as constituted is not the strongest that could have been manufactured." The electorate, of course, later endorsed this last statement.

As the editors point out, little has been written about the conventions of 1856 as a whole — although each one has been treated separately in biographies and party histories. They hope that this little book will help to remedy some of this neglect. H.F.R.

THE LIFE OF JONATHAN BALDWIN TURNER
By Mary Turner Carriel. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1961. Pp. 267. $5.50.)

As its part in the observance of the centennial of the Land Grant Act the University of Illinois Press has reissued this biography of Jonathan Baldwin Turner, by his daughter, Mary Turner Carriel. The only addition to the original, which was privately printed in 1911, is an introduction by Dr. David D. Henry, president of the University of Illinois.

In this introduction Dr. Henry

says that "in a sense . . . Jonathan Baldwin Turner is not only a forebear of the land-grant movement but also of the University of Illinois. Many persons may be identified in the period 1850-67 as contributing to the founding of the University of Illinois but certainly none had a more prominent part nor greater influence than had Jonathan Baldwin Turner."

Although it is not an autobiography, much of the material in the book consists of Turner's speeches, essays, and letters. The University Press has presented them attractively and in a colorful binding. As it is, this volume is a valuable addition to land-grant literature, but why it was reissued without the addition of an index surpasses ordinary understanding.

H.F.R.

OLD GENTLEMEN'S CONVENTION: THE WASHINGTON PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1861

By Robert Gray Gunderson. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1961. Pp. 168. $5.00.)

The subject of this rather small book is the last desperate attempt to save the Union in 1861: the Washington Peace Conference in February of that year.

There is little argument that the theme of the publication is a legitimate one. Here was a significant group of delegates (over a hundred in all, from twenty-two states) meeting to discuss ways and means of avoiding civil war. Gunderson hastens to point out in his preface that these men were not extremists, but "moderates and conservatives" caught in the whirlpool of time and circumstances.

What he does not say clearly, and herein is a fault of the book, is that these unfortunate patriots were the real inheritors of the Clay-Webster-Calhoun tradition that the Union was to be now and forever inseparable. The years had passed them by, and, to paraphrase William James, their reason had become but a speck upon the sea of emotion. Old John Tyler was there, carrying his years "with remarkable grace," while, at the same time and just a few miles away, his granddaughter ceremoniously raised the Confederate flag on the cupola of the Southern Capitol. Other "old gentlemen" were there, some nearly blind, some crippled, and some long retired — but all anxious to save the Union. Nothing is so difficult, however, as to teach new leaders old tricks, and all the attempts at compromise and conciliation failed. Horace Greeley best expressed the eventual outcome. "If we are to fight," he said, "so be it."

It is diffcult to appraise Pro-

fessor Gunderson's work. He is liberal with quotation, almost too much so. He appears to overcite, while, at the same time, he is niggardly with analysis. One reaches the conclusion that the author races against the size of the book, that he is hurried rather than studied, and frantic rather than explanatory. One must also be impressed by the fact that the last sixty pages of the book contain reference matter, notes, and the index. Withal, however, it is a volume worthy of consideration and collection by either Civil War buffs or professional historians.

VICTOR HICKEN
Western Illinois University

THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF HENRY C. BEAR, A SOLDIER IN THE 116TH ILLINOIS VOLUNTEER INFANTRY
Edited by Wayne C. Temple. (Lincoln Memorial University Press: Harrogate, Tenn., 1961. Pp. 54.)

At first glance Henry Clay Bear of near Oakley (just east of Decatur in Macon County) might have appeared to be a typical farm boy recruit when he enlisted in the Union Army on August 9, 1862. But he was twenty-three years old, married, and had received a better-than-average early education. And his political and philosophical convictions were more mature than those of a youth would have been. As a Lincoln Republican and an abolitionist, he had sound reasons for being in the army. His faith in Universalism — the belief that "all of mankind will finally be saved" — gave him strength to stay in and see the conflict through to the end.

Bear's letters were addressed to his wife, Lucetta Jane (with one exception, which was a reply to a query about a soldier who had died). What made them different from the usual letters, however, was that they were written in diary form and then mailed as letters. Henry would get a small notebook and when it was filled he would mail it — sometimes he would make four or five entries during the day.

Bear's active military career lasted only five months — after four months of training at Camp Macon — before he was wounded. But it was a busy five months. The 116th left Decatur by rail on November 8 for Cairo and went from there by boat to Memphis. Then followed a week of marching down into Mississippi and back again — a maneuver that Bear considered entirely unnecessary. He spent Christmas Day, 1862, aboard the *Forest Queen* steaming down the river from Memphis to Vicksburg, with an eight-hour stop to tear up a stretch of railroad: "We, that is four Regts of us, strung along the track on one side, took hold of the ties and turned about

three quarters or a mile of it upside down, then tore off the ties, piled them up, then laid the railings on. When hot, bent them in the middle."

The 116th took part in the battles of Chickasaw Bluffs and Arkansas Post and then helped launch the Siege of Vicksburg, where Henry was wounded on May 19. He had to tell his wife but he did not want her to worry, so this is what he wrote: "We made a charge and a dear charge it was. Out of 31 in our company 13 has been hit. Several two or three times. Sam Baty the flag Bearer of our Com[pany] was killed. Lieut Hardy severely wounded above and below the knee. Dan Bowen had his big toe mashed by a ball. I am hit in the side. The ball went in through where the ribs joins and I suppose lodged there. It is not painful. I can go around, give water to the boys and am quite lively and am very thankful it is no worse. It may prove worse than I think as the Ball is still in there yet but I hope not."

His wound was not fatal, but Bear spent the remainder of the war in army hospitals, most of the time in the Estes House Hospital in Keokuk, Iowa. He was released on June 1, 1865, and returned to Oakley. In 1869 he moved to Champaign County, where he later went into the grain business and lived to be eighty-eight years old.

Perhaps if Henry Bear's battle carrer had lasted longer, the record would have become a confusing mass, but as it is these letters (or diaries), covering a part of one campaign, make this book a Civil War gem. The editor has supplied the necessary historical background, and he has gone far beyond this by identifying all of the relatives, friends, and neighbors Bear mentions. Although the letters were addressed to his wife, Bear expected them to be read by the rest of the family and the neighbors, and he tried to keep them informed about the men in his company and their visitors.

Although the book is only fifty-four pages in length, it is slightly oversize (seven and a half by ten and a half inches), attractively bound, and well indexed.

H.F.R.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

With the passage of House Bill 350 in the 1959 legislative session, $50,000 was made available to the State Historical Library for the purpose of microfilming Illinois newspapers. The Library has attempted to secure representative papers from each of the counties for which newspapers were not already available on microfilm. Libraries, historical societies, newspapers, and individuals were encouraged to assist in the search for the most complete file of papers for these counties. The response was good, and as a result the Historical Library now has the most extensive collection of Illinois newspapers in existence. Passage of a similar bill during the recent regular session of the legislature will result in the addition of issues from counties still not represented.

Here is a list of *a few* of the titles and dates of the lengthier files recently filmed:

Belvidere Standard, Oct. 2, 1851-March 16, 1899
Benton News, 1925-1957
Carrollton Gazette and *Gazette-Patriot,* June 26, 1846-1960
Chicago Herald, Record-Herald, and *Herald and Examiner,* March 1-Oct. 21, 1859, May 10, 1881-1932
Chicago Journal, Aug. 31, 1844-Aug. 21, 1929
Chicago Times and *Times-Herald,* Jan. 16, 1855-Feb., 1901
Clinton, various papers, 1854-1949
Flora, various papers, Oct., 1912-1960
Galesburg Mail and *Register-Mail,* 1892-1961
Harrisburg Daily Register, June 28, 1915-Aug., 1961
Jerseyville, various papers, 1841-1932
Joliet, various papers, 1849-1860, 1865-1961
Kewanee, various papers, 1857-1961
Litchfield, various papers, 1857-1961
McLeansboro, various papers, 1872-1960
Macomb Journal, July 22, 1861-1961
Mattoon Gazette, May 31, 1860-July 20, 1864, 1875-1901
Mattoon Journal and *Journal-Gazette,* 1902-1961
Metamora Herald, Dec., 1889-1960
Morris, various papers, 1862-1956
Pana Gazette, 1865-1886
Pana Palladium, 1887-1928 (not complete)
Peoria Transcript, Dec. 30, 1855-1874
Pontiac Leader, Sept. 14, 1896-1961
Pontiac Sentinel, 1871-1897 (some years missing)
Princeton, *Bureau County Republican,* 1858-1960
Quincy, various papers, 1834-1961
Shawneetown, *Gallatin Democrat,* 1923-1956
Sterling Gazette, May, 1857-1956
Vandalia Union, 1893-1946
Watseka, *Iroquois County Times,* 1922-1958
Woodstock Republican, July 17, 1856-Sept., 1959

For further information about these or other titles write to the Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois.

BERNARD WAX

News and Comment

Society Elects First Woman President

For the first time in its history the Illinois State Historical Society elected a woman president at its sixty-second annual meeting held in Champaign-Urbana on October 13-15. She is Mrs. Doris P. Leonard of Princeton. Mrs. Leonard is secretary and a past president of the Bureau County Historical Society and woman's editor of the *Bureau County Republican,* "The Nation's Largest Country Weekly." She was elected a director of the State Historical Society in 1957 and became the senior vice-president in 1960. Mrs. Leonard succeeds Dr. Glenn H. Seymour of Charleston, who will serve as chairman of the Society's board of directors for the coming year.

The directors also elected Robert G. Bone, president of Illinois State Normal University and a former director and vice-president of the Society, as senior vice-president for 1961-1962. State Historian Clyde C. Walton was re-elected executive director.

At the annual business meeting Saturday afternoon Historical Society members approved the slate of directors presented by the nominating committee headed by past president Ralph E. Francis. Elected for three-year terms ending in 1964 were Burton C. Bernard of Granite City, attorney and past president of the Madison County Historical Society; Newton C. Farr of Chicago, chairman of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library; Richard S. Hagen of Springfield and Galena, historian for the State Division of Parks and Memorials; Victor Hicken of Macomb, professor of social studies at Western Illinois University; and Frank J. Kinst of Elmhurst, building and loan executive. William A. Pitkin of Carbondale, professor of history at Southern Illinois University, was elected to fill the one-year unexpired term of George W. Adams, also of Carbondale, who resigned as head of the history department at SIU to accept a position at the University of Alaska.

In addition to naming the new president, senior vice-president, and executive director, the directors elected sixteen vice-presidents for the coming year: Gunnar Benson of Sterling; Dr. Arthur V. Bergquist, Park Ridge; David Davis, Bloomington; Gordon B. Dodds, Galesburg; Mrs. John S. Gilster, Chester; Mrs. William Henry, Jr., Cambridge; King V. Hostick, Springfield; George M.

Irwin, Quincy; Donald F. Lewis, Bethalto; Karl B. Lohmann, Champaign; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; Mrs. Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; Philip L. Shutt, Paris; J. Robert Smith, Carmi; Robert M. Sutton, Urbana; and Gilbert G. Twiss, Chicago.

This annual meeting of the Historical Society was planned around the year-long national observance of the centennial of the Land Grant College Act. The principal speakers used this theme, and it was the subject of the largest of several special exhibits.

Although early arrivals were entertained at a reception Friday evening at the Illini Union, the first formal session of the meeting was held Saturday morning and was a panel discussion on "The Role of the Local Historical Society." Three representatives of local societies in widely separated sections of the state presented three different concepts of the purposes and programs of the local society. Mrs. Leonard told of the activities of the Bureau County Society, which are centered around the operation of its four-story brick museum. The museum last year registered more than two thousand visitors including sixteen from foreign countries.

J. Robert Smith, president of the White County Historical Society, told of the organization of his Society and its rescue and restoration of historic Ratcliff Inn. With the help of borrowed funds and much volunteer labor an eyesore was converted into an asset to Carmi's Main Street.

Ebers Schweizer, president of the Randolph County Historical Society, revealed how the weight of his organization has tipped the scales in favor of a variety of historical projects. The principal interest of his group, however, is its historical tours of the area for school children. All of the county's seventh-graders are given the tour each year, and guide service and other help is provided for many organizations outside of the county.

The speaker at the Saturday luncheon in the Lincoln Room of the Urbana-Lincoln Motor Inn, preceding the annual business meeting, was Judge Charles M. Webber, past president of the Illinois County and Probate Judges' Association. Judge Webber told the story of the development of Champaign County in the 140 years since the first visit of a white man and included several anecdotes about Lincoln's association with the area.

Following the business meeting the members were given their choice of several activities for the afternoon. Nearly half of them accepted an invitation to visit the home of Mr. and Mrs. William S. Redhed on Salt Fork near Homer, Illinois. The Redheds have made their home a showplace of early American furnish-

ings. Their guests were particularly interested in the great variety of Windsor chairs in the house — hoop-back, fan-back, loop-back, comb-back, three-back, hoop-skirt, continuous-arm, and brace-back — and by the large fireplace and the collection of cooking and heating equipment. . The basement of the house is practically a frontier museum with some fifteen hundred articles — many of them unique — made by early do-it-yourselfers and manufacturers. The barn also contains a large collection of early farm implements and tools.

Those members who remained in Champaign-Urbana visited the public libraries of the two cities, the University Library, and two current art exhibits. At the University Library they saw a twelve-display-case exhibit titled "Jonathan Baldwin Turner and the Land Grant Act," composed principally of materials from the Turner Collection in the Illinois Historical Survey. The papers ranged from Turner's Yale Bachelor of Arts diploma of 1833 to the University of Illinois Press's new edition of *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* by his daughter, Mary Turner Carriel. Also included were letters, pictures, pamphlets, drawings, and descriptions of Turner's patented seeding machine and his sod breaker.

At the University's Krannert Art Museum the visitors saw the Thirty-seventh Annual Faculty Exhibition of twentieth-century art, and on Main Street in Urbana local artists were holding the Urbana Art Fair.

The annual banquet of the Historical Society was held in the Illini Union ballroom Saturday evening, with Dr. David Dodds Henry, president of the University of Illinois, as the speaker. Dr. Henry chose this occasion to inaugurate the University's part of the national observance of the centennial of the Land Grant College Act, which President Abraham Lincoln signed on July 2, 1862. The title of his talk, "To Do a Great and Good Work for Our Fair and Fertile State," was taken from the last paragraph of Willard C. Flagg's introduction to the *First Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois Industrial University* (predecessor of the University of Illinois). Dr. Henry used that report, which he termed a "mirror and a prophecy," as the basis for his talk. For his "mirror" comments he cited quotations on the frontispiece page from Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, George William Curtis, and Turner. The 320-page report itself provided the "prophecy."

The Sunday program was opened with a buffet luncheon at the Illini Union ballroom at which the new president of the State Society was introduced and at which she presided. Donald R. Brown, librarian at Western Michigan

At the Illinois State Historical Society's meeting in Champaign-Urbana, seated left to right, are Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, newly elected president of the Society; Karl B. Lohmann, president of the Champaign County Historical Society and a vice-president of the State Society; and Mrs. Theodore C. Pease, a vice-president of the State Society. Standing are Clyde C. Walton, left, executive director of the State Society, and Robert M. Sutton, chairman of the meeting's arrangements committee and a vice-president of the State Society. Champaign-Urbana Courier photo

University, Kalamazoo, was the luncheon speaker. Although his subject was "The Educational Contribution of Jonathan Baldwin Turner" and much of his material was biographical, he showed that Turner was the originator of the land grant college idea and should receive a larger share of the credit that has gone to Representative Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, whose name appears on the legislation.

Following the luncheon the group broke up into four sections for panel workshop discussion sessions in adjoining conference rooms. With an attendance of nearly fifty the genealogy discussion — with Assistant State Historian Margaret A. Flint and Mrs. Charles M. Johnson, past state regent of the DAR, as the leaders — overcrowded its room. Attendance at the other discussions — on the Civil War Centennial in Illinois, the teaching of Illinois history, and planning for the fu-

ture of the Historical Society — was smaller. These sessions were adjorned by 3:30 P.M., and the participants reassembled in the General Lounge for a coffee hour before leaving for home by 4:10 P.M.

ANNUAL MEETING NOTES: The Illinois State Historical Society's annual award winners, selected by a committee headed by Victor Hicken of Macomb, were announced at the banquet Saturday night. Recipients of the Award of Merit were George W. Bunn, Jr., of Springfield and Clarence P. McClelland of Jacksonville. Honored with Distinguished Service Awards were Virginius H. Chase of Peoria Heights, Harry L. Spooner of Peoria, and the Stephenson County Historical Society.

Mrs. Douglas L. Burrell of Tuscola had two reasons for being in Champaign-Urbana on the weekend of October 13-15. She attended the sessions of the Historical Society and at the same time was an exhibitor at the Urbana Art Fair.

Each guest of the Champaign County Society received a copy of the 41-page centennial booklet, *The Beginnings, Champaign in the 1850's and 1860's,* by Natalia M. Belting.

John W. Allen of Carbondale, a past president of the State Society, arrived in Urbana to attend the meeting, as he has been doing for years, but instead spent the weekend in a hospital with a minor upset. And Saturday was his birthday! Irving Dilliard headed a delegation that visited him and sang a hospital version (very low) of "Happy Birthday." Saturday was also the birthday of Stevie Wax, son of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Wax. It was Stevie's third and he got a battery-powered train.

The Champaign County Historical Society made good use of its portable picture gallery of about sixty nineteenth-century local scenes by moving it from the morning meeting room to the ballroom for the banquet.

Several of the annual meeting's speakers suggested that Illinois history should be a required subject for the elementary schools of the state.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library has large holdings of, and specializes in, Lincolniana and the Civil War period.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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